

A SKETCH OF THE
HISTORY OF HINDUSTAN

FROM THE FIRST MUSLIM CONQUEST

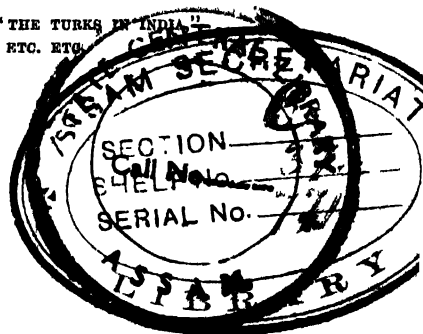
TO THE

FALL OF THE MUGHOL EMPIRE.



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BY

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ETC. ETC.



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TO THE

RT. HON. THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.J.

SOMETIME VICEROY OF INDIA,

THIS ATTEMPT TO SKETCH THE STATE OF HINDUSTAN,

UNDER LESS ENLIGHTENED RULERS,

AND IN LESS FORTUNATE TIMES,

IS, BY PERMISSION,

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.



GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

HINDUSTÁN—in a large sense—is the appellation of the country bounded on the west by the river Indus and the ocean, on the south by the Narbada and the Vindiya range, on the east by the Brahmaputra river, and on the north by the Sub-Himalayas. The soil and climate of this vast tract are liable to many variations, not only from latitude—of which it includes nearly ten degrees—but also from various physical features; parts of the country basking at the feet of a great mountain wall, while part is alluvial, and part—especially to the westward—a wilderness of rock and sand.

Leaving out the Sub-Himalayan region, which has played but little part in history (with the partial exception of Kábul and Kashmir), the land of the Hindus contains no very high ground. The most lofty portion is the plateau of Ajmere, situate on the eastern slope of the Aravali hills. These form a mass of primitive granite, of which the chief peak is Mount Abu, about five thousand feet above the level of the sea. The general physical geography will be found fully portrayed in the *Geological Report* of Messrs. Blandford and

Medlicott, published at Calcutta in 1879. It is probably the upheaved bed of an ancient sea, which once interposed between the Himalaya and the highlands of the south. The soil is, for the most part, light, but favourable to the growth of cereals, and in some places largely streaked with a basaltic earth, in which cotton grows well. Snow has only once fallen there within historic memory; but thin ice is easily obtained in clear winter nights. During the spring heavy dews fall, and the prevailing wind is from the west, which becomes gradually heated as the sun becomes more vertical and the days grow long. Towards the end of May the monsoon comes up, charged with vapour, from the Indian Ocean, when a rainfall is due, which usually lasts for the next quarter, averaging about twenty inches—more towards the south, less towards the north.* In September this rain gradually ceases; and then malarious exhalations render the climate insalubrious for man until the cold season has fully set in. The extreme range of the thermometer between the 1st January and the 1st June is fifty degrees or more of Fahrenheit; the average mean temperature in the winter being about fifty-nine degrees, and in the summer ninety-three degrees. The cereals are reaped in March and April, the cotton (together with the millets, which form the ordinary food-staple) in October and November. Melons and cucumbers are grown in the summer. Thus the agriculturist is seldom idle; for when he is not reaping he is sowing, or watering, from wells, ponds

On the Sub-Himalaya range the fall is much heavier. Higher ranges to be affected by the monsoon at all.

or canals. These specifications apply to the western and northern portions of the central territories, to which the name of "Hindustán" is more especially applied by the natives ; and which may be said to lie between the Sutlaj and the Saun rivers. Far north the Punjab is almost out of the influence of the monsoon, and exposed to still greater extremes of heat and cold ; while south-east the three provinces of Bahár, Bengal, and Orissa have a monsoon of their own, and a rice-eating population of much less hardy habits than those of the north-west and the Punjab.

Throughout the history of these countries we may remark a singular phenomenon. Regular as the variations of climate are in ordinary years, there has always been a twofold periodicity of drought. There has been a total failure of rainfall over the whole country about four times in each century—so far as can be learned—and there have been local and minor failures about midway between each pair of great droughts. In Bengal and the Deccan these have been caused by the failure of the local monsoons, of which the "north-east monsoon" strikes the Coromandel coast, while the "south-west monsoon," coming later in the year, affects the Malabar coast and dependent regions. Bengal is in the sphere of the former, the Deccan in the sphere of the latter ; the north of India, with which we are here principally concerned, being subject to irregularities from both quarters. The great famine of Shah Jahán was in 1630 A.D., that of his son and successor in 1660. In the century that followed, war and anarchy combined to make the country a wilderness ;

and in Hindustán want must have been too chronic and general to be much noticed. But in 1770–71 we learn that a special scarcity afflicted Bengal and Bahár, in which it was officially estimated that ten millions of persons perished. In 1783–84 a famine of, at least, equal severity fell upon Upper India, due to three successive years of drought. Under British rule—besides local droughts and scarcities—there have been three of these general famines, of which the dates are 1803, 1836, 1861.* Following on these periods usually comes epidemic fever, when the strength of the exhausted survivors is unequal to the successive burdens of heat and malaria. In other seasons the special blood-poison of cholera, favoured by the climate, and travelling from crowded places, finds a *nidus* in the ill-sanitised towns and villages, and decimates mankind. Such are the awful expedients by which Nature—if left to herself—checks the redundancies of a population apt to pullulate like ants, and outstrip the resources of a feeble and slovenly system of agriculture. As the Commission of 1878 remarked—“Famine is really only one of numerous influences by which, at present, human life among the people is cut short; and which can only be counteracted by the general advance of society in wealth, knowledge, and material resources.” Of the tendency of the population to increase, without such checks, it may be sufficient to remark that, by the census of 1861, it was shown that in some parts of the country the population (in purely agricultural districts) was not less

* These particulars are chiefly taken from the Report of the Famine Commission of 1878, by Mr. C. A. Elliott, C.S.I.

than a human soul to each acre. In some other parts, at the same time, it was as low as twenty-two per square mile, and the land not only less exhausted but naturally of more productive quality. So far back as the reign of the benevolent Emperor Akbar, the province of Gondwána (equivalent to our modern "Central Provinces") was opened out by conquest, that rude pioneer of progress. The returning troops, even more than those who stayed behind, contributed to the settlement of the country by describing its beauty and fertility in their crowded villages; and a considerable immigration from Hindustán ensued. The adjoining province of Málwa bore a still higher reputation; and to this day there is a proverbial doggerel among the people of Hindustán —

In Málwa you are always fed,
One step water, next step bread.

Yet, in spite of these notorious facts, the people are so patient and so tenacious, that they prefer enduring almost any extreme of misery to leaving the homes of their fathers and migrating to more favoured lands. But in those days there was no such congestion of population anywhere as is now the case in some parts of rural Hindustán. Tigers and elephants were hunted between Agra and Saháranpur.* This state of things reacted on fertility and climate. With a thinner population, there was less land under plough, and more forest; the trees protected the grass, and the village cattle that grazed under them.

* So late as 1838 Lord William Osborne shot some tigers at Muzafarnagar, between Saharunpore and Meerut, where such a thing could no more be done now than it could on Salisbury Plain.

The word "village" is used in two senses. In its wider meaning it implies a township or *commune*; such an aggregate as formed the parish or manor in rural England. The inhabited area, also called "village," was covered with cottages, hovels, and often a fort, all constructed of the earth dug out of the pond where the buffaloes bathed and the oxen drank. The fort was a rude enclosure where the local magnate lived in slovenly affluence; the mud huts of the ordinary inhabitants often covered a good deal of ground, owing to the habits of the Hindus, who preserved the primitive family-corporations; two generations of people sometimes living in common under the patriarchal governance of the grandfather. The habitation was thus a small enclosure, of which the entry, flanked by a byre, or cattle-shed, opened on a porch, or open ante-room. This led into a courtyard, surrounded by store-rooms, also used for eating and sleeping; thatched galleries, or verandahs, provided shelter for the repose of the aged and the fatigued; and those who could afford it had an upper room, in which to sleep during the malarious season, and whence to look out for the approach of an enemy.

Mediæval Hindustán possessed few day-labourers subsisting on wages. The *metayer* system everywhere prevailed where the land was not actually held—as often happened—by joint-stock associations of peasant proprietors, mostly of the same tribe. Their simple wants were provided for by a class of hereditary brokers, who advanced stock, seed, and money on the security of the land, or of the unresaped crops. These brokers were

often chandlers also, who undertook the distribution of the produce when brought to the threshing-floor. Foreign commerce being almost unknown, there was not much specie; the prices of commodities were very low, while the rate of interest on money was often as high as three and a half per cent. per mensem.

Of the ethnologic origin of the inhabitants, some account is attempted in the first chapter. It may be well to add that, in modern times at least, the chief division is caused by creed. The Hindus are of three chief sects: the followers of Shiva—chiefly towards the south and east; the worshippers of Vishnu, and the Jains, or Sarāwagis—chiefly found in large towns. Later waves of immigration have deposited a Muslim population—somewhat swollen by conversions, especially under Alamgir, or Aurangzeb. The Muslims may be taken at about one-seventh of the population of Hindustán. They have preserved their creed—divided into Sunnis, who hold to the elective Caliphs, and the Shiahhs, who assert a hereditary succession. But their manners have been sensibly corrupted by the circumjacent idolatry. Their celebration of the Moharam, with tasteless and extravagant observances, has been understood to be generally condemned by their more orthodox co-religionists. They continued the bewildering lunar year of the *Hijra* (flight of Muhamad), with intercalated month every third year; to increase the confusion, some of the early Mughols also used the old Persian solar year, beginning on the 12th March (old style), besides reckoning by Turkish cycles. The Hindus used a soli-lunar year, with more than one *datum*;

that most in vogue being the *Sambat*, or era of a mystical monarch called “Vikram-Aditya.”

Such is a brief sketch of the retarded development of a country and people with simple wants, an easy though unhealthy climate, few external alliances, no sea-traffic. The people of Hindustán have been often compared to children; till lately their condition has rather resembled that of “second childhood.” Their circumstances have now been changed, and we will endeavour to believe that a second adolescence and a second manhood are to follow—not without “growing-pains.”

The capital cities of Hindustán have always, in historic times, been Dehli and Agra; Lahore, Allahabad, Lucknow, were also Muslim seats of royalty, while the Hindu princes have built splendid cities in Rájpután and elsewhere. The first-named (Dehli) was the seat of the early Muslim conquerors, though they were not constant to any one portion of the area of about sixty square miles, over which the name of Dehli has been diffused. Their Mughol successors, for about a century of their earlier and more glorious period, preferred Agra as the scene of their Courts and Cabinets. Ultimately, as we shall see, they returned to the old neighbourhood.

The origin of the name of Dehli is unknown, and the date of its earliest settlement is beyond the reach even of conjecture. A Brahmanic city, with the name of Indraprastha (“Indra’s Field”), stood on the right bank of the Jumna long before the Christian era, whose memory is still preserved in the name (Indrápat) locally given to the city of Humaiun and Sher Sháh outside the Dehli gate of the modern town. This gate

is named from another old city, where the *Kutb-Minar* now stands, built at a somewhat later date than Indrápat. Various Muhamadan Sultans occupied sites in one part or another, the latest being the *Din-Pana* of Humaiun, just mentioned.

At length, under Sháh Jahán, New Dehli arose ; but, before giving any account of his city and palace, it will be convenient to look for a while at Agra, where the Mughol style of palace was first exhibited, and where it may still be seen in something like a complete form:

We must always bear in mind, when visiting buildings of this sort, what was the scheme of life of the men who used them. Originally nomads, the Mughols founded everything upon the traditions of a Tartar camp ; and their palaces—as shown more completely at Agra than elsewhere—conform to such a plan. There is a central pavilion, fronting an open space, where the ruler could be seen, sitting in state and administering justice. There is at the back a gallery, leading to a smaller pavilion, in which he could hold council with paladins and peers. Behind these, again, are the womens' apartments and the "baths," in which all private hours were passed. The bath itself is but one of those apartments, though the whole suite bore the name. We look in vain for the comfort and the domestic magnificence of Windsor or Versailles. Yet there was a prodigious pomp and splendour, of a certain kind, consistent with the scheme of life that has been mentioned. The lords-in-waiting and the ministers were entitled to go behind a railing, in the hall, where, ten feet above the floor, was an alcove twenty feet in breadth, veiled with a brocade curtain.

Six hundred exempts, splendidly accoutred, kept guard in front of the throne-alcove. Twelve thousand chosen men-at-arms formed the external body-guard. On the way to this gorgeously thronged approach the traveller would be conducted up a long street, bordered on each side by glittering shops displaying gold and silver ornaments, mirrors, embroideries, and cloth-of-gold. In the distance the guns were slowly saluting the rising of the monarch, and the band in the *Naubat-Khána* was playing what to European ears was barbaric music, yet in which, as Bernier tells us, there was "something majestical." On entering the grand square he saw on three sides open cloisters in which sate a crowd of spectators sheltered from the sun. Elephants and led horses, and fighting animals of all sorts, were being paraded in the wide fronting area. The pillars of the hall, of white masonry pencilled with vermilion, were hung with embroidered draperies; a canopy, or awning of flowered tissue raised on silver poles, afforded shade in the front. Within the balustrade the privileged spectators stood, awaiting the appearance of the sovereign with down-cast eyes, and hands crossed upon their breasts. Over window-like openings in the upper hall, on a level with the throne, were gratings of floriated tracery behind which were audible the soft clashing of bracelets and the prattle of ladies' tongues. The stir increases, the square is alive with excited men and beasts, the musicians in the band-stand redouble their exertions. At a sudden signal the last gun of the salvo is fired, the brocaded curtains rise, the Emperor is seen sitting cross-legged on his throne. His vest is of white satin, embroidered

with flowers of silk and gold. His turban is of cloth-of-gold, with a priceless topaz, shining like a mimic sun in a firmament of diamonds. A collar of enormous pearls hangs round his neck and reaches to his waist. The throne is raised on six pillars of massive gold, set with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds; the whole estimated by a French visitor at four *krors* of rupees, or sixty millions of French livres.* The princes of the blood are on either side, splendidly apparelled; and behind stand eunuchs and negresses, having fans and long brushes made of feathers. All present bow to the ground before the throne.

And now the music begins again, the great ordnance is discharged, and amid this din and racket, this pomp and circumstance, the Emperor goes through the form of dispensing justice in the public manner traditional in the East. For there the primary idea of a ruler, in time of peace, is of the man who sits in the gate to do justice. "And thus," notes Bernier, "these kings, however barbarous esteemed by us, do yet constantly remember that they owe justice to their subjects."

The palaces of Dehli and Allahabad are less perfect than that of Agra, where we have been supposing this levée to be held. But the site of Dehli is better chosen, both for scenery and climate; and is much nearer to the hills of Kashmir, where Jahángir and Shah Jahan loved to pass their summers. Farther north there was a fourth palace, at Lahore, some remains of which still exist, though much injured by Sikh depredations. Dehli

* See Bernier's *Letter to M. de la Mothe le Vayer*, 1st July, 1668. Tavernier—himself a judge of jewels—doubles the estimate.

has always been a great centre of commerce. The city of the Mughols—called Shahjahánábád, after its founder—is seven miles in circumference, with lofty sand-stone walls and seven guarded gateways. One fourth of the area is given up to the citadel, in which the palace was situated. A canal of marble ran through many of the apartments, which comprised—besides the halls of audience and private withdrawing-rooms—many sumptuously decorated chambers and baths; the decorations being of the most elaborate *pietra dura* inrustations on white marble panels. There was also a beautiful mosque; and a garden about one hundred yards square, perpetually watered by the canal, afforded a delightful retreat in summer evenings. The east frontage commanded a view of the river Jumna and its banks. On the east of the palace, and connected with it by a bridge crossing an arm of the river, was a semi-detached fort of older days—believed to have been built by Salim Shah, Sur, and called “Salimgarh”—a rough and dismal structure, used by the Mughols partly as a State dungeon, partly as a residence for the minor members of the Imperial family.

Such is a brief description of the land and its contrasts; the palace and the prison; the squalid mud forts and villages; the profuse splendour of its more august abodes. Of the character of the races by whom it was peopled various estimates have been formed. Many writers, from Arrian to Abul Fazl, have borne testimony to their remarkable virtues; they were—as they still are—temperate, frugal, self-controlling, kind to kinsfolk and dependants, beyond any known families of man.

Such are their better qualities, in addition to which they were, originally, conspicuous for veracity and love of truth. But, from the physical weakness induced by the easy but relaxing climate, and still more, perhaps, from the egotism engendered by centuries of misgovernment, they have, in more recent times, failed in the manlier virtues which are found among the rough inhabitants of harsher scenes. Many observers have concluded that their defects are due to the system of caste, by which men are forbidden to leave the grooves in which they may be placed by birth. But that is not the whole explanation; indeed, the system of caste is rather a result than a cause; its direct effects—as must happen with any social system evolved by long-felt exigencies—have been good as well as evil; and of this we have remarkable testimony. A joint pastoral addressed to the clergy of England by the Anglican Bishops of India in May 1874, thus temperately and wisely notices this matter:—

“In India caste has been the bond of society, defining the relations between man and man; and, though essentially at variance with all that is best and noblest in human nature, has held vast communities together and established a system of order and discipline under which government has been administered, trade has prospered, the poor have been maintained, and . . . domestic virtues have flourished.”

Macaulay has hardly exaggerated the weaknesses of the less manly of the Hindu races in his *Essay on Warren Hastings*, where he has occasion to paint the celebrated portrait of Nand Kumar. That notorious

person, as a Bengali man-of-the-pen, was probably a type of the less commanding qualities of Hinduism. But the Bengalis have many good gifts to set off against these; being highly intelligent and active in mind if not always physically hardy. And, as we go farther north, we find among the Rájputs, Játs, and Brahmans abundant traits of fidelity and courage. Of the Muslims it need only here be added that they have, in long years of intercourse and of common conditions, imbibed most of the Hindu characteristics. Among Muslims and Hindus alike there have been, in all ages, signal instances of female heroism. Some illustrations of these observations will be found in the concluding chapters of this History.

It only remains to add that in 1867 appeared a small volume called *The Moghul Empire, from the death of Aurangzeb*, of which a new edition was called for and was published in 1876, under the title of *The Fall of the Moghul Empire*. The object of this work was to describe, what had never been fully described before, the anarchic period immediately preceding the British occupation.* Three years later came a series of chapters, entitled *The Turks in India*, wherein an attempt was made to give essays on the state of society in the country at a somewhat earlier period, so as to present a picture of the Mughol Empire in its brighter days.

The present History is the completion of studies extending over many years, of which some results had

* Mr. Sydney Owen's *India on the Eve of the Conquest*—a most valuable record—is not quite the same thing, being from the English point of view, and otherwise different in treatment.

thus been—perhaps prematurely—presented. Encouraged by the reception of these fragmentary efforts, the author now ventures to offer something like a continuous narrative of affairs in the largest and most interesting part of the vast Indian peninsula. The universal history of the whole of that division of the globe is a subject too wide and too complicated for his powers; and even in regard to the comparatively restricted area with which he deals, he cannot but be conscious that his treatment is far from complete. He must be content if he should find that he has enabled some readers to realise the factors that have aided in producing the existing population of Hindustán, and the nature of the problem presented in its administration.

In any case he would wish it to be understood that, although use has been made of essays already submitted by him in connection with the subject handled in the ensuing pages—yet the present work is essentially new. Gathering together the research and experience of the greater portion of a long residence among the scenes of his narrative, the author has endeavoured to describe, from the reading of contemporaneous record corrected by tradition and local observation, some of the events and conditions which have contributed to make the Hindustánis what they are to-day. Some notices of the origin of their arts, literature, and law will be found interspersed. But his space has been limited; and it has not been thought desirable to crowd too closely a narrow canvas. The interest of the subject—though he hopes it is not quite non-existent—is not great enough to warrant a very minutely detailed treatment.

Nor is the material—material of any value—by any means superabundant. The Hindus have never cared to read or write history: and the Muslim writers, though many chroniclers have existed among them, are not, with two or three exceptions, historically minded, in the modern sense of the words.

It has not been thought necessary to break the continuity of the text, or encumber the margin by perpetual citations of authority. Copious use has naturally been made of the studies above described, the materials for which were taken from contemporaneous writings and from good modern sources. The admirable general *History of India*, by Mountstuart Elphinstone, has been occasionally referred to; and continual aid has been derived from the eight volumes of Elliot and Dowson (*History of India as told by its own Historians*, Trübner, 1867–77). This great work contains translated extracts from the best native chronicles. It is not, indeed, quite what its title assumes; because no attempt is made at digesting the matter, nor is it always in chronological order. But its completion revolutionises our knowledge of the subject; and justifies, one may hope, the undertaking of the following summary, containing—as it does—much matter that was unknown to Mr. Elphinstone. Among remaining materials the author would especially acknowledge the learned and copious first volume of the *Ain Akbari*, by the late Principal Blochmann of Calcutta, whose lamented death prevented the accomplishment of that most important enterprise. In Graf v. Noer, also, who was content to find in loving labour on an unpopular subject the con-

solutions of a philosophic retirement from an exalted station, another literary benefactor is to be acknowledged and his premature loss deplored. Other authorities are cited wherever citation appeared needful. Beale's *Oriental Biographic Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1881, is a repertory of dates and chronologic items, which has been consulted from first to last. Occasional reference has been made to Mr. Talboys Wheeler's collection of the evidence of European visitors.

Athensæum Club,
March 1885.

C O N T E N T S .

	PAGE
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	iii
ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS, WITH DATES	xxiii

Book II.

CHAPTER I.—ETHNOLOGIC FEATURES OF HINDUSTÁN . .	1
CHAPTER II.—THE EARLY MUSLIM EMPIRE	25
CHAPTER III.—THE CONQUEST BY BĀBAR, AND FOUNDATION OF THE MUGHOL EMPIRE	58
CHAPTER IV.—AKBAR: FIRST PERIOD	86
CHAPTER V.—AKBAR: SECOND PERIOD	118
CHAPTER VI.—AKBAR: THIRD PERIOD	138
CHAPTER VII.—JAHĀNGIR	163
CHAPTER VIII.—SHĀHJAHĀN	190
CHAPTER IX.—ALAMGIR I. (AURANGZEB)	219

Book II.

	PAGE
CHAPTER I.—DESCRIPTION OF THE EMPIRE OF HINDU- STÁN IN THE PERIOD OF ITS GREATEST GEOGRAPHIC EXTENSION	250
CHAPTER II.—BARÁDUR SHÁH	267
CHAPTER III.—JAHÁNDÁR—FAROKH SIYÁR—THE SAIYADS	285
CHAPTER IV.—MUHAMAD SHÁH	304
CHAPTER V.—AHMAD SHÁH—'ALANGIR II.—CAMPAIGN OF ABDÁLI	380
CHAPTER VI.—THE INTERREGNUM—NAJIB AND THE JÁTS	356
CHAPTER VII.—NAJAF KHÁN'S MINISTRY	377
CHAPTER VIII.—THE GREAT ANARCHY — MAHAJÍ SINDHIA	400
CHAPTER IX.—GEORGE THOMAS, BEGAM SAMERU, GENE- RAL PERRON, ETC.	427
CHAPTER X.—CONCLUSION	448

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Book II.

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CHAPTER I.

ETHNOLOGIC FEATURES.

[State of the Country before the first Muslim Conquest.]

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY MUSLIM EMPIRE.

CHAPTER III.

THE MUGHOL CONQUEST. A.D. 1526-56.

- A.D. Who were the Mughols?—Early history of Bálar.
1525.—Bábar's invasion.—Battle near Pánipat.—Overthrow and death of Ibráhim.—Rána Sanka.
1527.—Battle near Biána and defeat of Rána Sanka.—Attack on Chandairi.—Bad news and council of war.
1528.—Jumna forded, and march east.—Ganges bridged at Kanauj.—The Nauroz.—Lucknow.—Agra.—Gwalior.
1529.—Negotiations with Sanka's son.—More bad news.—Sher Khán.—Ghásipur and Bengal.—Hindus in council.—Battle on the river.—Return to Agra.
1530.—Death of Bábar.—Rise of Sher Khán.
1535.—Campaigns of Humaiun in Gujarát and Máliwa.
1537.—Humaiun returns unsuccessful.
1538.—Siege of Chunar.—Negotiation and disaster.
1539.—Proclamation of "Sher Sháh."

A.D.

- 1540.—Battle of Kanauj.
 1542.—Sher Sháh, Emperor *de facto*.—His habits and administration.
 1545.—Death of Sher Sháh.
 1554.—Death of Islám Sháh.
 1555.—Humaiun leaves Kábul.—Bairám Khán.—Humaiun occupies Dehli.
 1556.—Death of Humaiun.

CHAPTER IV.

AKBAR: FIRST PERIOD. A.D. 1556-75.

- 1556.—Accession of Akbar.—Hemu the Chandler.—His defeat and death.—Bairám and Máham Anka.
 1558.—Fall of Bairám.
 1561.—Akbar's majority.—Campaign in Málwa.—The immigrant aristocracy.
 1562.—Death of Adham and his mother.—Akbar marries daughter of Amber.—Fiscal indulgences to Hindus.—Immigrant aristocracy suppressed.
 1564.—Temporary repose.
 1565.—Agra fort built.—Attempt on Akbar's life.
 1566.—Revolt at Jaunpur.—Todar Mal
 1567.—Chitor campaign.
 1568.—Chitor stormed.—Shaikh Faizi.—The Mirzas.
 1569.—Ranthambor taken, and Fatehpur-Sikri founded.—Birth of Salim.
 1570-1.—Progresses.
 1572.—Gujarát.—Mán Singh and Bhagwán Dás.—Birbal.—Conquest of Ahmadábád.—Rebellion of Dáud Sur in Bengal.—Akbar's Academy.—Christians at Court.—Akbar's new position.—Fatehpur-Sikri described.
 1575.—Return from Bengal.—Abul Fazl.—Consolidative work.

CHAPTER V.

AKBAR: SECOND PERIOD. A.D. 1576-92.

- 1576.—The Reformation.—The *Ibádat Khána*.—Life at Fatehpur-Sikri.
 1577.—Reformation continues.—Campaign in Udaipur.—Goganda.
 1578.—Málwa and Gujarát.
 1579.—Udaipur again.
 1580.—Akbar's toleration.—Growth of "Eclectic monotheism."—The Covenant.

- A.D.
 1581.—Akbar in apogee.—The Associates, and the *Din Ilâhî*.—
 Abstention of Hindus.—Campaign in Bengal.
 1582.—Revolt of Prince Hâkim in Kâbul.
 1583.—Bengal troubled still.
 1584.—Revolt of Katlu in Orissa.—Bairâm's son, Khân Mirza.—
 Katlu pacified and pardoned.
 1585.—Khân Mirza in Gujarât.—Death of Prince Hâkim.—
 Yusafzais.
 1586.—Defeat and death of Birbal.—Arrangements at Kâbul.
 1587.—Nauroz at Attock.—Kashmir attacked.
 1588.—The Khaibar, Swât, &c.
 1589.—Akbar in Kashmir.—Death of Bhagwân Dâs and Todar
 Mal.—Troubles on the Narbada.
 1590.—Occupation of Berâr.
 1591.—Gwalior, Ujain, Gujarât.—Outbreak in Orissa.
 1592.—Orissa pacified.—Akbar in Kashmir and Punjab.—The
 Millennium.—The land-revenue.—Bitter Badaoni.—
 The other side.—More from Badaoni.—History of the
 Millennium.—Akbar's palmy days.

CHAPTER VI.

AKBAR: THIRD PERIOD. A.D. 1592-1605.

- 1592.—Want of Parliamentary institutions.—Abul Fazl's promo-
 tion.—Burhân-ul-Mulk.
 1593-4.—First Deccan Campaign.—Annexation of Khândes.—
 Capitulation of Ahmadnagar and of Kandahâr.
 1595.—Death of Faizi at Lahore.
 1596.—Famine and pestilence.—War in Deccan.—Battle on the
 Godâvari.
 1597.—Recall of Prince Murâd.—Publication of *Ain Akbari*.
 1598.—Abul Fazl employed in Deccan.
 1599.—Death of Murâd.—Misconduct of Prince Salim.—Bahâdur
 of Khândes.—Asirgarh.—Second siege of Ahmadnagar.
 1600.—Fall of Asirgarh.—Outbreak in Bengal.
 1601.—Settlement of Berâr and Khândes.—Pardon of Salim.
 1602.—Murder of Abul Fazl.—Fresh misconduct of Salim.
 1603.—Mân Singh in Bengal.—Bijâpur submits to Prince
 Daniyâl.—Salim in arrest.
 1604.—Hot pursuit of Abul Fazl's murderer.—Death of Daniyâl,
 Round table broken up.—Intrigues for succession.
 1605.—The Elephant-fight.—Meeting to set aside Salim.—His
 alarm and reassurance.—Death of Akbar.—The land
 revenue.—Todar Mal's reform.—Unity and continuity.
 —Standing army.—State of people.

CHAPTER VII.

JAHÁNGIR. A.D. 1605-28.

- A.D.
 1605.—Pardon of Mán Singh and Khusru.—Funeral of Akbar.—
 Ministerial appointments.—The "Twelve Institutes."—
 Jahángir's character.—Fool's paradise disturbed.
 1606.—Pursuit of Khusru.—Overthrow and punishment.
 1607.—Death of Sher Afkan.
 1610.—Emperor marries Nur Jahán.—Her character and influence.
 —Disturbances in Bengal and Bahar.—Sultán Parwez
 and Khán Jahán Lodi.
 1612.—Pathán outbreak in Bengal.—Defeat of Usmán.—Malik
 Ambar and the Deccan.—The Mahrattas for the first
 time.
 1618.—Khurram sent to Udaipur.
 1614.—Stale-mate to Rána.—The English and Portuguese.—Sub-
 mission of Udaipur.—Ambar defeated.—Prince Khur-
 ram.—Jahángir reforms himself.—English travellers.
 1615.—Roe's Embassy.
 1616.—Epidemic.
 1617.—*Counterblast to Tobacco*.—Honours to Khurram.
 1619-20.—Pleasures of Kashmir.
 1621.—The Hills again.
 1622.—Persians attack Kandahár.—Death of Khusru, and sus-
 picious conduct of Sháh Jahán.
 1623.—Mahábat moves against Sháh Jahán, who retreats.—Em-
 peror again on tour, in ill-health.—Mahábat alarmed.—
 The game begins.—Events on the Jhelam.
 1624-5.—Release of Emperor and pardon of Sháh Jahán.
 1626.—Death of Parwez.—Winter at Lahore.
 1627.—Death of Khán Mirza.—Corrupt conduct of Khán Jahán
 Lodi.—Emperor in Kashmir.—Dies at Rajaur.—His Ad-
 ministration.—Analysis of "Institutes."—Buildings.—
 The *Fainéant*.—Winter King.—Message to Sháh Jahán.
 —Sháhryár overthrown.
 1628.—Receipt of the Message.—Arrival and Accession of Sháh
 Jahán.

CHAPTER VIII.

SHAH JAHÁN. A.D. 1628-58.

- 1628.—General remarks on Emperor and his reign.—Death of Nar
 Singh.—Alarm of Khán Jahán Lodi.
 1629.—His escape from Agra—and joins Nirám Sháh.—Pursued
 and abandoned.
 1630.—Defeat and death of Dará Khán.

- A.D.
 1631.—Death of Khán Jahán Lodi.—Meaning of the episode.—
 Death of Empress at Burhánpur.—Attack on Portuguese at Hughli.
 1632.—Emperor returns to Agra.
 1633.—Goes to Kashmir.
 1634.—Death of Mahábat.
 1635.—Suppression of Bundelas.
 1636.—Settlement of Deccan.
 1637.—Kandahár given up.—Ali Mardán Khán.
 1639.—The Rávi Canal.—Foundation of Palace at North Dehli.—
 Canal of Firoz Sháh (West Jumna).
 1640.—Court at Lahore.—Father Manrique.
 1641.—Death of Asaf Khán.
 1643.—Aurangzeb contemplates retirement.
 1644.—Campaign in Badakhshán.
 1645.—Sultán Murád withdraws.
 1646.—Allámi Sa'd Ullah, and Aurangzeb.
 1647.—Their retreat.
 1648.—Kandahár retaken by Persia.
 1649.—Aurangzeb fails to reduce it.
 1650.—Campaign in Thibet.
 1651.—Court at Kábul.—Renewed attempt on Kandahár.—Dára
 sent—succeeds no better.—The Emperor's family.
 1653.—The Court at Dehli.
 1654.—Dehra Dun.—Mir Jumla.
 1655.—Reduction of Golconda.
 1656.—Death of Sa'd Ullah.—Aurangzeb in the Deccan.
 1657.—Death of Ali Mardán Khán.—Illness of the Emperor.—
 Dára's Regency.—Murád and Shujáá rebel.—Aurang-
 zeb's proceedings.—Defeat of Shujáá.—Jeswant Singh
 despatched southward.
 1658.—Cannot prevent junction of Murád and Aurangzeb.—
 Brothers march on Agra.—Emperor and Sháyista.—
 Battle of Samoghar.—Flight of Dára.—Emperor's situ-
 ation.—Murád seized at Muttra.—Deposition of Em-
 peror.—Aurangzeb's letter.—Remarks on taxation, &c.—
 Revenue of Sháh Jahán.—His administration.—Justice
 and Law.—Finance.—Public works.—Treatment of
 Christians and Hindus.—Note on authorities.

CHAPTER IX.

ALAMGIR I. A.D. 1659-1707.

Difficulties of subject.

- 1659.—Fall and death of Dára.—Aurangzeb proclaimed.—His
 measures and habits.—Expulse and disappearance of
 Shujáá.—Sháh Mubín.

- 1660.—Rise of Siváji.—Disappearance of last rival.
 1661.—Muazzam's marriage.
 1662-3.—Sháyista's miscarriage.—Murád's execution.—Siváji captured, made a feudatory, and called to Dehli.—His departure.
 1668.—The Balcony abolished.—Disturbance in Swát.
 1669.—Persecution Hindu
 1670.—The Satnámis.
 1671.—Pursuit of Siváji.
 1678.—Death of Jeswant Singh.
 1680.—Re-imposition of *jizía*.—Three hundred temples destroyed in Rájpután.—Letter of Rána Ráj Singh.—Death of Siváji.—Submission of Udaipur.—The three Princes, and the rest of the Royal Family.
 1681-2.—Rájputs seek protection of Sháh Akbar.—His elder brothers sent against him.—Rájputs abandon Akbar, who takes to the sea.—And escapes to Persia.
 1683.—Grand preparations for Deccan Campaign.
 1686-7.—Arrest of Muazzam.—Darkening days.
 1690.—Insurrection of Mahrattas and Játs.—Muazzam's captivity relaxed.
 1692.—And terminated.—Campaign on the Bhima.—Zulfikar Khán.—Arrest of Kámbakhsh.—Kháfi Khán goes to Goa.
 1693.—Mahratta successes.
 1695.—Flood at Bairámpuri.
 1698.—Holy war proclaimed.—Satára taken.—Beating the air.
 1704.—Illness of Emperor.
 1705.—He goes to Ahmadnagar.—Intrigues of Azam.
 1707.—Emperor's death.—Decadent architecture.—State of Empire.—The Revenue.—Condition of the people.—Reasons of Alamgir's failure.—Merits of administration.—Bernier's testimony.—The Mansabdárs.—Growth of territorial assignments.—Minor commanders.—The artillery.—Law and Justice.—Life of the rural population.—The tribunals.—Eccentric codes.—Revenue law.—Pettifogging persecution.

Book II.

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CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTION OF THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER II.

BAHÁDUR SHÁH. A.D. 1707-12.

- ^{A.D.}
 1707.—General character of period.—Advance of competitors for the throne from north and south.—Encounter at Jájau.—The battle.—Appointments.—Bahádur's court.—Quiet in the Deccan.—Administrative reforms.
 1708.—Sultán Kámbakhsh.—Attacked by Zulfikár.—His capture and death.—State of Deccan.—The Rájputs.—Hindu disaffection spreading.
 1709.—The Sikhs.—Their depredations.—Jacquerie in Punjab.—Rájputs appeased.
 1710.—Sikhs conquered.
 1711.—Death of Muna'im Khán.—Azim us-Shán and Jahándár Sháh.
 1712.—Death of Emperor.—Confusion at Dehli.

CHAPTER III.

JAHÁNDÁR: FAROKH SIYAR: THE SAIYIDS. A.D. 1712-19.

- 1712.—Greatness of Emperors to Bahádur.—Its cause.—The four Princes.—Their fighting.—Accession of Jahándár.—His character.—Popular discontents.—The Saiyids and Farokh Siyar.—The advance up the Dúáb.
 1713.—Battle near Agra.—Flight of Emperor.—Accession of Farokh Siyar.—Mir Jumla.—Jahándár and Zulfikár slain.—Farokh Siyar's character.—Submission of Aft Singh.
 1714.—Compromise between Court and Saiyids.

- 1715.—Dáúd resists the new Viceroy, and is killed.—English mission from Calcutta.
 1716.—Generosity of Dr. Hamilton.—Campaign against Sikhs.
 1717.—The patent signed.—The Sikhs conquered.—Punishment.—Death of Asad Khán.—Ill-treatment of Hindus.
 1718.—War in Deccan and treaty with Mahrattas.—Husain Ali marches on Dehli.
 1719.—Arrival, and consequent confusion.—Attempted defence of Rukn-ud-daula.—Farokh Siyar cannot summon resolution.—Accession of Rafi-ud-darjât.—Murder of Farokh Siyar.—Death of Rafi-ud-darjât.—Quarrels and arrangements of the Saiyids.—Ceremonies of accession.—General remarks.

CHAPTER IV.

MUHAMAD SHAH. A.D. 1719-48.

- 1719.—The Emperor and his mother.—Parties at Court.—Appointments.—Outbreak of Patháns in the Punjab.
 1720.—Nizám working towards the Deccan.—Crosses the Narbada.—Takes Burhánpur.—And Asir.—Between two fires.—Defeat and death of Diláwar Ali.—Distractions at Court.—Defeat and death of Alim Ali.—Assassination of Husain Ali.—Turaniens in ascendant.—Efforts of Abdulla.—Battle near Muttra.
 1721.—Death of Amin Khán, the Premier Peer.—Saádat and the Nizám.
 1723.—Death of Ajit Singh and Sáyyid Abdulla.
 1724.—Nizám leaves Court to found Haidarábád as an independent Principality.—His administration.—Disorder and neglect.
 1726.—A Pretender captured.
 1727.—Saádat cannot be translated.
 1728.—He takes Kanauj.
 1729.—Fighting in Rohilkhand.
 1730.—Troubles in Dehli.—Foundation of Farokhábad Principality.—The Bangash and the Peshwa.—Death of Mir Jumla.—Jai Singh and Dhonkal make terms with Mahrattas.—Pestilence and severe winter.
 1731.—Mahrattas at Agra.
 1732.—Pestilence and hard winter.
 1733-6.—War between the Mahrattas and Mughols.—Nizám appears at Dehli.
 1737.—Attack on the seats of the Sáyyids.
 1738.—Nádir Sháh takes Kábul and moves on Lahore.—Battle of Karnál.—Treachery imputed to Saádat.—Bengor

A.D.

- throws himself into Nádir's hands.—His reception.—
Arrival of the armies at Dehli.—Massacre of citizens.—
Plunder and retreat.—Effects of the blow.
- 1739.—Arrangements at Dehli.—Násir Jang.—Advance and retreat of Mahrattas.
- 1740.—Death of Báji Rao.
- 1741.—The Hindus attacked.
- 1741-2.—Nizám leaves Dehli.
- 1743.—Death of Jai Singh.
- 1745.—Campaign in Rohilkhand.—Provinces fall off.—New generation.
- 1747.—Rise of Ahmad Abdáli.
- 1748.—He invades India.—Repulsed near Sirhind.—Death of Emperor.—His character.

CHAPTER V.

AHMAD SHÁH, ETC. A.D. 1748-61.

- 1748.—Promises of the new reign.—Death of Nizám.—His character.—Safdar Jang Vazir.—The Emperor and his mother.—The Punjab and Rohilkhand.—Expedition to Rájputána.
- 1749.—Safdar Jang to Audh.
- 1750.—Death of Nádir Jang.
- 1751.—Departure of Gházi-ud-din.—Safdar Jang returns.
- 1752.—Murder of Jávid Khán.—Fighting at Dehli.
- 1753.—Success of Gházi-ud-din the younger.
- 1754.—Attacks the Játs.—Emperor withholds support.—Deliberations at Dehli.—Intrigues of Emperor.—His fall.—And successor.—Najib Khán.—Pitiable state of Empire.—Death of Safdar Jang.—And of Mir Manu.
- 1756.—Gházi attacks his aunt.
- 1757.—Abdáli arrives from Kandahár—and pardons Gházi.—Plunder of Dúáb and city.—Abdáli leaves Najib in charge.
- 1758.—Mahrattas sent against Najib.
- 1759.—Flight of Prince Ali Gauhar.—Shujaá supports Najib.—Murder of Emperor.—Abdáli reaches Anupshahr.—Gházi retires.—His subsequent career.—Abdáli once more at Dehli.—The Bhao sets out to attack the Muslims.—Constitution of Mahratta army.—Dehli taken.
- 1760.—Abdáli at Anupshahr.—Negotiations with Shujaá.—Who arrives in camp.—The Dardas.—Passage of the Jumna.—Two months' campaign.—The numbers of the armies.

- 1761.—The Mahratta attack.—The opposite lines.—The Mahratta success.—Midday.—The turning-point.—One o'clock.—The rout of the Mahrattas.—Subsequent arrangements.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INTERREGNUM. A.D. 1760-71.

- Empire in commission.—Clive and Dehli politics.—Character of Shujá-ud-daula.—Prince enters Bahár.
- 1760.—Assumes Empire.—Encounters Anglo-Bengali forces.—M. Law joins him.—Defeated by Knox.—Cannot take Patna.
- 1761.—Battle of Suán.—Emperor goes to Shujá.
- 1762-3.—Revolution in Bengal, and fall of Nawáb Kásim.
- 1764.—Who joins Shujá.—Allies invade Bahár.—Measures of Hector Munro.—Battle of Buxar.
- 1765.—Temporary settlement.
- 1767.—Court at Allahábád.—State of the country and people.—Digression on the Játs.—The progress of the Sikh power—and of the Játs.—Suraj Mal attacks Dehli.—His death.—Samru joins the Játs.—Battle with Rájputs and desertion of Samru.—Sufferings at Dehli.
- 1768.—Reappearance of the Mahrattas under Takuji Holkar.—Mahdaji Sindhia.
- 1770.—Death of Najib-ud-daula.—Háfiz Rahmat.—Emperor resolves on return to Dehli.
- 1771.—Mahrattas occupy Dehli.—Death of Manir-ud-din.—Emperor leaves Allahábád.—And halts at Farokhábad.—Note on authorities.

CHAPTER VII.

NAJAF KHÁN'S MINISTRY. A.D. 1771-82.

- Entry into Dehli.
- 1772.—Zábíta Khán attacked.—He retires to the Játs.—Treatment of his family.—Treaty between Rohillas and Viceroy of Audh.—Combinations against Najaf Khán.—Tortuous proceedings of Mahrattas.
- 1773.—Sudden reconciliation.—The British and the Viceroy.—Mahrattas routed and expelled.—Rohilkhand once more saved.—British cantonment at Anupshahr.—Najaf

A.D

- restored to power.—Hisám-ud-daula's dismissal and new appointments.—Destruction of Rohilla power resolved on.—Mahrattas driven out of Hindustán.
- 1774.—Negotiations broken off.—State of the country and people of Rohilkhand.—Battle of Kattrá and death of Háfiz.
- 1775.—Death of Viceroy of Audh.—Campaign against the Játs.—Battle of Barsána.—Siege of Dig.
- 1776.—Dig evacuated.—Sikhs rebel.—Honours for Mirza.
- 1777.—Death of Mir Kásim.—Attack on Ghangarh.—Fight at Pánipat.—Zábita pardoned.—Distribution of power and administration.
- 1778.—Campaign in Jaipur.—Sikhs rebel again.—Expedition of Majd-ud-daula.—Its futile character.—Ranjit Singh.
- 1779.—Sikhs advance towards Dehli.—Intrigues of Sindhia.
- 1780.—Gwalior taken by Popham.—Mirza sent for.—Arrest of Majd-ud-daula.—Mirza Shafi sent against the Sikhs.—Who retire worsted.—Begam Samru's origin.
- 1782.—Death of Mirza Najaf.—Division of his property.—Prince Jawán Bakht.—Afrasyáb Khán.—Shafi retires.—A new candidate for power.—Treaty of Salbai.—British mission to Dehli.—Note on authorities.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GREAT ANARCHY. MAHDAJI SINDHIA. A.D. 1782-94.

- 1782.—State of the country.—Death of Haidar Ali.—Plans and movements of Sindhia.
- 1783.—Further quarrels of Mughols.—Murder of Mirza Shafi.
- 1784.—Warren Hastings goes to Lucknow.—Prince goes to meet him.—Sindhia's conduct.—Majd-ud-daula confined.—Assassination of Afrasyáb.—Sindhia takes the reins.—M. de Boigne.—Death of Zábita Khán.
- 1785.—Agra surrenders.—The "Chalisa" famine.
- 1786.—Muhamad Beg sent to Rághugarh.
- 1787.—A British brigade sent to Cawnpore.—Sindhia's resump-tions.—Rebellion of Rájputs.
- 1787.—Campaign of Lálsant.—Coalition of Ismail Beg and Ghulám Kádir.—They go to Dehli.—A compromise.
- 1788.—Battle at Chaksána.—Emperor sets out for Rájpután.—Death of Jawán Bakht.—Siege of Gokalgarh.—Emperor returns to Dehli.—De Boigne retires to Lucknow.—Sindhia at Muttra.—Confederates return to Dehli.—Search for treasure.—Emperor blinded.—Infamous behaviour of Ghulám Kádir.—His flight—and end.

- 1789.—De Boigne resumes the command.—His measures.
 1790.—De Boigne's campaign in Rájpután.—Battle of Pátan.—
 Battle of Mahirta.
 1791.—Ismail captured.—The regular troops.—Submission of
 Jaipur.
 1792.—Battle of Lakhairi.—Cornwallis rebukes the Emperor
 and Sindhia.—Administration of de Boigne.—George
 Thomas.
 1794.—Death of Sindhia.—Patel's offers to de Boigne.—Note on
 authorities.—The Sháh's poem

CHAPTER IX.

GEORGE THOMAS: BEGAM SAMBU, ETC. A.D. 1794-1802

Rise of Thomas.

- 1794.—Thomas in the Mewát country.—Daulat Rao Sindhia.—
 Thomas invited to enter the service of Sindhia.—Attacked
 by Begam Samru.—Aloysius Reinhardt.
 1795.—His intrigues.—Began and Levaissoult leave Sardhana.—
 Death of Levaissoult.—Revolution and restoration.—
 Insane conduct of Appu.—Thomas and the Sikhs.—
 Suicide of Appu.—The Afgháns.—The Deccan.
 1796.—Retirement of de Boigne.
 1797.—Perron in command.—Bhanbu Khán.—Invasion of Afgháns.
 —Elements of Anti-British combination.—Perron and
 Thomas work together.—Governor-General at Lucknow.
 —Jeswant Rao Holkar.
 1798.—Thomas in straits.—He settles at Hási.—His projects.—
 Revolts against Perron.
 1799.—Perron's authority restored.—Campaign in Jaipur.—Battle
 of Sanganir.—Revolt of Lakwa Dáda.
 1800.—Its suppression.—Power of Thomas.—His forays in Jaipur
 and in Bikanir.—His good prospects.—They are frus-
 trated.
 1801.—War between Sindhia and Holkar.—Perron occupies Ha-
 riána.—His meeting with Thomas.—Thomas declines his
 offers.—Defence of Georgegarh and of Hási.
 1802.—Surrender of Thomas.—His departure and death.—Success
 of Holkar.—Treaty of Bassein.—Sindhia turns to
 Bhamala.—Projects of Wellesley.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION.

- A.D.
1803.—Wellesley's anti-French policy.—Warnings to Sindhia.—Perron's projects.—War declared by Wellesley.—Perron's position.—Wellesley and Lake.—Proclamation to officers and letter to Sháh.—The British-born officers.—Measures of Perron.—Skirmish of 30th August.—Perron's flight.—Battle of Dehli.—Agra taken.—Treaty of Sarji Arjangaum.—Last of the British-born officers.—Lake and the Sháh.—No treaty with the Sháh.—Political position.—Why the Mughols failed.—Habits and institutions.—Feudatory states still extant.—Difficulties of British administration.—Perron's territory.—The Tálukdars.—Begam Samru and Sardhana.—Other landholders.—Illicit sources of income.—Forbidden by Lake.—Robber barons.—Skinner and Gardner.—Slow pacification.—Saháranpur and Etáwa.—Character of people.—Present contrast.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION.

The system of spelling Oriental words is that adopted by the Government of India.

Long (*á*) is accented, and to be pronounced as in the English interjection "Ah!"

Other vowels as in the words "Ruminant" and "Obey."

No attempt is made to indicate the shades of sound in consonants, excepting that the very peculiar Semitic consonant "ain" is usually expressed by an apostrophe, *e.g.* *Muna'im*.

H. G. K.

Not only is the language of Upper India a proof of its Aryan colonisation, but its laws and customs, and—to some extent at least—its religious beliefs, are the living witnesses of the same event. The difference in date between the various parts of the ancient Scriptures would lead to the supposition that the period of invasion and conquest must have lasted some centuries: no part of these sacred books was reduced to writing till later times; and, indeed, they are still often preserved by oral tradition and memory. We have the high authority of Professor Weber, a writer of equal caution and erudition, for asserting that the older parts of the *Rig-Veda* show the Indo-Aryans establishing themselves on the Indus; their gradual spread towards the east, as far as the Ganges, can be traced almost step by step in the later portions of the sacred books. Thus, though the earlier hymns possibly did not originate in Hindustan—nor were the people among whom they were composed possessed of the art of writing—yet the final recension of these, and their incorporation in the rest of the canon, took place in that country, probably in its eastern region.

In the third century before the Christian era we reach firmer historical ground. After the retirement of the Macedonians from the Punjáb in 326 B.C., an empire came to light whose centre was in what is now called the province of Bahár. The edicts of Asoka make mention of the successors of Alexander, and thus fix his date—say about 250 B.C.—by which time Buddhism, in one of its earlier forms, had become the State religion. Of the condition of the people during a period vaguely bounded by the invasion on one side, and the period of Asoka on the other, we have some means of judging: first, from the indirect evidence extracted from the *Vedas* by modern scholars; and next—though this is of less

value—from the account (given by Arrian, in the second century after Christ) of the report of Megasthenes, a Grecian ambassador, who visited the Bahár Court just before the time of Asoka. The general agreement is satisfactory, and shows that the people possessed many of the germs of Aryan, or Indo-Germanic civilisation. They were divided into two great classes: the “twice-born,” or Vedic people, who (like the patricians of Rome) represented the original invading colonisers; and the Sudras, or non-Vedic people, who (like the plebeians of Rome) represented those of the original inhabitants who had accepted the invasion. Besides these were the impure races, the descendants of aboriginal tribes who had either been reduced to slavery or been hunted into the hills. Not only Latium, but Gaul, Britain, and other European countries, present a similar ethnical classification.

Like all rudimentary societies, the Hindus had but crude institutions. But it has been the distinction of all Aryan branches of mankind that their social ideas are pregnant with the elements of progress; and in this respect the Hindus of those times were at least on a level with their kinsfolk in Germany, Greece, and Rome. As in those countries, the social integer was the corporate family, whereof the father was priest and king, and the mother a free and respected partner. These families were the constituents of villages, all the inhabitants of which professed brotherhood. A certain number of villages were associated in a looser bond, which, nevertheless, still affected the character of consanguinity. It is probable that in each village there was a gathering of Sudra clients, whose relations to the “twice-born” were primitively those of vassals, if not serfs. The tribe was ruled by a chief, usually at first elective; with him was

associated a Bardic College, or Cabinet, whose head was a kind of Prime Minister. It was out of such an organisation that gradually arose the well-known four classes, and, ultimately, the minuter ramifications of caste. The people were originally known as *Vaiçyas*, a term derived from *viç* (Lat. *vicus*), and conveying a meaning akin to that of "citizens" in the latest Aryan development, the United States. But when, in that specialisation of social organs which is a step in healthy evolution, labour came to be divided, there arose a distinct class, whose duties were administrative and warlike; and yet another, for purposes of religious celebration. Between these two dominant classes a struggle appears to have taken place, terminated by some sort of compromise. The warrior and regal class assumed to itself secular predominance. At the same time the spiritual character of the people claimed yet higher respect for the Bardic class, whose consecration was required for the establishment of the ruler, and by whose advice he was to be influenced in the exercise of his functions. Thus organised, the early Hindu society consisted of Brahmins, Kshatryas, *Vaiçyas*, and Sudras. The three former (or "twice-born") broke up into branches indicative of differences in family origin or professional occupation. The latter, learning to imitate this division, and adopting the hereditary character which it had assumed, subdivided themselves into castes, which are now enumerated by hundreds, and among which there is no more mutual intercourse (except in the way of speech) than exists among the various species of the animal kingdom. A banker in India will no more break bread with a distiller, or take his daughter to wife, than a vulture will feed with an albatross, or a ram breed with a sow. In the lapse of time Sudra monarchies arose.

Whether this composite society of Aryans, aborigines, and slaves was still farther complicated by immigration from without, is among the many puzzles that result from the singular indifference of the Hindus to anything like historical science. Some faint traces of Greek influence, some symptoms of early Tartar settlements, have been inferred from the evidence chiefly of architecture and coinage. There is one more certain date besides that of Asoka, namely, the beginning of the still current era, 57 B.C. But authorities are still divided as to whether this be the date of a great central monarchy of the Hindus in Málwa, or whether it is the note of a Scythian conquest of the Panjáb. Professor Max Müller is of opinion that Hindu civilisation was almost suspended about the year 100 B.C. by Turanian conquest, and did not revive till about the fourth century A.D.

All that need be here noted as certain is that there was a kind of Hindu heptarchy after the time of Asoka, of which we may take Bahár, Audh, Kanauj, Suráshtra, Ujain, Dehli, and the Panjáb, to have been the constituent parts ; and that during the period ending with the first Muhamadan invasion in the eleventh century after Christ, the national character developed itself in many directions, religious, legal, and literary. And this for a period longer than that occupied by Greek or Roman history, or by that of England from the time of Egbert to the present day. We cannot, perhaps, have the history of this long but obscure period summarised to better purpose than in the following sentences :—

“ From the overthrow of the Græco-Bactrian kingdom by the Indo-Scythians to the downfall of the Gupta dynasty, India was nearly cut off from the outer world. Indeed, there was little in the current of events in

India to interest men accustomed to the political life of Greece and Italy. India was still divided into a number of little kingdoms, as it had been in the war of the 'Mahabharata.' "

[The Gupta dynasty came to an end early in the fourth century A.D. But the state of things that ensued was not dissimilar.]

"It is difficult to realise the actual condition of India under the ancient Hindu rajahs. It is, however, evident that the whole continent was a chaos . . . utterly wanting in political life and cohesion."—(Wheeler's *Short History*, pp. 54–73.)

This latter statement is a little too emphatic; but it is probable that—to use the language of modern philosophy—India had not emerged from a political state of "indefinite, incoherent homogeneity." Nevertheless, some of the arts flourished; law (of a theocratic kind) became codified; a system of popular mythology was formed; metaphysics were cultivated by the learned; and general literature, embodied in the beautiful and highly-organised Sanscrit language, gave birth to fine productions. And, since these works were of all the kinds most concerned in delineating human passions and manners, it has resulted that, while we know nothing of the events usually recorded by history, we have considerable information as to the thoughts and ways of man. In the epics, the law-books, the idyllic and lyric poetry, we see the ideals of the people in their higher moods; in the dramas we are shown, not only the romantic and legendary aspects furnished by the imagination, but even, in a few fortunate instances, the realistic details of their lives.

One of these last—the *Mrichchhakati*, or "Toy-Card"—is assigned by H. H. Wilson to an early stage of the

period under notice. It represents the adventures of a Hindu Timon who has dissipated his substance in munificence and hospitality, and who is reduced to live with his wife on a frugal scale, and in an obscure quarter of the city. Though his fortune has resembled that of Shakespeare's misanthrope, it has not produced a similar effect upon his character. Charudatta, the reduced Brahman noble, retains in his misfortunes the gentle frankness which had made him a favourite in the days of his splendour. By a supposition somewhat startling to modern English readers, he is represented, though a family man, as having excited the sympathy of a leading "professional beauty" named Vasanta. Pity is akin to love. Vasanta loves the Brahman, and the Brahman, in spite of his amiable character and his happy home relations, yields his love in return. But Vasanta has another admirer, the brother-in-law of the Rája. This nobleman is a very comic character, a sort of ridiculous Don Juan, amorous, vain, cowardly, especially affecting a reputation for literary culture, which he vindicates by false quotations and absurd solecisms. In her attempts to escape from the pursuit of this unacceptable wooer, the lovely adventuress finds herself lost in a garden. Here she is tracked by her persecutor. Infuriated at her persistent rejection of his addresses, the wretch strangles Vasanta, and hastens to the public authorities, before whom he accuses Charudatta of the cruel deed. Moved by the rank of the accused and the plausibility of his tale, the magistrate sends officers to the garden, by whom, however, the body cannot be traced. According to modern ideas, there would be no *corpus delicti*, no positive proof that a murder had been committed. But Hindu justice is more easily satisfied. The unhappy Charudatta is condemned to death, though

treated from first to last with the courteous deference due to his birth and position. As he is being led out of the city to the public cemetery—the place where executions usually take place—the sad procession is followed by the real villain, gloating over the sufferings of his rival. Suddenly a distant cry is heard, and Vasanta appears to stay proceedings. She had only been rendered insensible by the outrage in the garden, and, having been restored to consciousness and strength by due treatment, has hastened up on hearing the crier reading the proclamation of her lover's sentence. Amid the general excitement the villain is seized and secured by the sympathetic crowd, who propose to substitute him for his intended victim. But the latter interposes, saying, in tones of mild command, "Loose him, and let him go." The wife and child of Charudatta, who had been in attendance on what they thought his last moments, are introduced to the generous Vasanta, and the curtain falls on the two ladies embracing in an ecstasy of mormonistic sisterhood.

The curious picture of manners presented in this play deserves the more attention because its date is probably not much later than that of the visit of Megasthenes. It therefore appears that before the Christian era the life of the Hindus presented analogies to the contemporary life of their Aryan kinsfolk in Greece. Buddhism, indeed, prevailed; and Brahmins were not regarded so much in the character of priests as in that of citizens of the purest blood, or Eupatrids. Secular life was luxurious, and by no means ascetic, though there is elsewhere evidence of religious persons separating themselves from the world of sense by vows. Although the Hindus had not learned the secret, still far from solution, of uniting the cravings of the body to the aspirations of the spirit.

yet their consciousness was devoid of brutality. Gentle in mood, they were fearless of death, and by no means destitute of warlike courage. Megasthenes recorded, according to Arrian, that all the Indians were free, and had no slaves among them. This political equality is confirmed by the indirect testimony of *The Toy-Cart*, showing that the fusion of races (tempered by the system of caste) had been completed. In this drama we find the servants faithful, but of independent bearing. The married ladies go abroad unveiled, receive visitors, and mix in general society, but are exposed to serious, if not hostile, competition from courtesans who hold a respected place in the world. Houses and fortifications were of earth, unbaked brick, or timber; no reference to masonry structures occurs either in the Greek report or in the plays. Sophists are treated with great reverence. Manners are free. In the grove of Káma (the God of Love) Charudatta was first beheld by Vasanta. We are reminded, with Wilson, of the gardens of Daphne, on the Orontes, the resort of the young and gay, the scene of meetings and adventures between the sexes. The early dramas, in a word—of which *The Toy-Cart* is the best sample—give a picture of life sufficiently advanced in civilisation to be voluptuous, yet possessing an idyllic character that is far from actual corruption. Neither the parasite nor the buffoon are really contemptible, and such a heroine as Vasanta—for all her equivocal position—is sweet and womanly, redeemed by love and glorified by perfect devotion and fidelity.

How long may have endured this Arcadian scheme of manners we are not directly informed. Under a sky bright without cloud during the long summer days, green in atmospheric haze during the cooler hours of the rains, blowing fresh and strong are the

the blossoming trees of the cooler season, we can fancy this gentle, cultivated race basking in the smiles of Nature, thronging the groves of Cupid, and slowly relaxing under the increasing refinements of luxury and peace.

But a change had been preparing. Far away, beyond the glaciers of the Himalaya and the snow-roofed home of the negligent gods, was slowly gathering a swarm of hardy, hungry savages, who were destined to lay waste half the world as then known, so that the cities should become ruinous heaps, and the grass refuse to grow in the track of their horse-hoofs. These invasions and devastations have always, in historic times, been the work of tribes and leaders living beyond the Alpine barrier of what is now the Amirate of Cábul; and a firm grasp of the highlands of Afghanistan has been their necessary preliminary. From 1001–1761 A.D. the blood of the Hindus and the treasures of her rulers have been squandered about fifty times in vain resistance to their north-western neighbours. A drama of the time (probably written in the twelfth century of the Christian era) gives a good idea of the effect produced upon the Hindus by the earlier of these incursions, dating from the first appearance of Mahmud to the settlement of the Afgháns of Ghor. The author says of his country that—

—this nurse of elemental life,
Now harassed by barbarians, shall repair
For refuge to the bosom of her kings,
And so escape a new annihilation.

But it was not so to be. These things were but the beginning of troubles. The old, gay freedom fled, perhaps never to return. When the play in question, the *Mudra Rakhasa*, was produced, Cupid's Grove had become a wilderness, and the Hindu lady had adopted

the curtained gynæceum as a refuge from the pursuit of the conquering foreigner. The chief characters are two statesmen, or rather politicians, "both of a depraved school." There are no females among the *dramatis personæ*. Fraud and assassination are the simple ~~and~~ means by which inconvenient obligations are liquidated. There is no mention of law or courts of justice. Foreign chiefs and mercenary soldiers are employed. Social and political anarchy is commencing. So far as Hindu autonomy was concerned, the old life never returned. Avoiding alike foreign war and maritime commerce, the Hindus, from the Indus to the Barhamputra, appear to have lived almost unchanged for thirteen centuries. But, with the general diffusion of northern reivers, their manners underwent a necessary alteration; the domestic life became retired, the gentle bearing degenerated into servility, polity became disintegrated, law and social life ran underground—one of the early Muslim chroniclers says "the Hindus burrowed like ants"—literature disappeared, the very languages split into a dozen vulgar patois-dialects.

Enough has, perhaps, been said as to the life of the ancient Hindus; their literature is too vast and varied to be treated here; and it has been most ably summarised by Professor Weber, whose work on the subject has been translated into English. A few facts, however, may be noted as to their ruling conceptions.

Accustomed as we are to the traditions of Semitic monotheism and to the victories of the people of Jehovah over the gods of the nations, we are in danger of forgetting that there is a type of ancient society that is perhaps both higher and happier, more fruitful in the present, and more hopeful for the future. All Aryan society is based upon the permanency of the family, a

corporation of which the father is managing partner. The wife, though she has her appropriate field of labour, is free. The sons are under the *patria potestas*, though they may have some voice in affairs, some latent claim to divide the estate if the joint management prove unprosperous. Slavery, if allowed, is not favoured, and tends to disappear. Monogamy was the rule; where second marriage was sanctioned, it was on certain specific grounds, the original consort, however, remaining "house-wife," and the new-comer only occupying the position of a respected concubine. When the father became decrepit, the eldest son assumed the position of head; when the father died, the widow and daughters came under the eldest son's charge; the *manes* of the fathers continued a hypothetical presence supreme in secular things, the father was also the priest of his family in the original scheme, and before the division of labour had created a priestly class. The Deity was regarded as an immanent power in Nature, revealed to man in the phenomenal universe whereof the typical manifestations were at first two, Indra and Agni. A later division recognised three. These were, 1st ADITI or SURYA, the Sun; 2nd AGNI, the Terrestrial Fire; 3rd VAYU, the firmamental Air or Spirit, by whose instrumentality the sacrificed Agni lives and returns to his heavenly Father, bearing propitiatory oblations for man. At the first appearance, in the East, of the maiden Dawn, the head of the family led forth his wife and children to the altar that stood before their door. Here he produced fire by working a drill in the centre of a wooden cross; and, carrying the kindled tinder to the altar, laid it there and anointed it with butter, until, fanned by the morning breeze, it burst into a flame. The sacrificial offerings were ignited; and the column of

thin blue smoke mounted towards the sky into which the sun was swiftly climbing, while the family sang a hymn, and prayed for a blessing on the labours of the day.

To this simple worship succeeded Buddhism, with a reaction against polytheism which ran, at first, into the opposite extreme. Then came the later development, its hagiology, its ritualism, and its system of male and female religious orders. The edicts of Asoka show the essence of Buddhism in one of its simpler forms: on that core of practice, however, many a shell of dogma and speculation became superimposed. In *Burma*, Ceylon, Siam, China and Thibet arose various forms of Buddhism. In India the peculiarities of the Aryan character reduced it to a system of esoteric philosophy, leading towards a cold agnosticism. For this the people—saturated by this time with indigenous polytheists association—was not prepared: it declined in influence and favour from the sixth century of the Christian era. Fa-Hian, a Chinese pilgrim, found symptoms of decay two hundred years earlier in the eastern regions of India—the original source of the system. In the seventh century it was still patronised by many chiefs and princes, but modern Hinduism was gaining ground, with its concrete polytheism more suited to the popular mind. In the ninth century A.D. the great temple and monastery of Sarnáth, near Benares, was destroyed, and the *Puránas* became accepted generally as the Scriptures of the new faith.

The modern Hindu Pantheon was in full glory before the Muhamadán conquest. It is covered with "a roof of many-coloured glass," and many races have contributed stones to its walls. The Proto-Aryan hymns to the elemental manifestations of the Absolute, the quasi-historical pretensions of the great Epics, the grotesque

fecundity of indigenous legends, perhaps even the story of the Gospels conveyed through the Gnostic vehicle of Eastern Christianity, are all among its constituent parts.

Springing from an esoteric attitude of the learned towards this crude mythology, philosophy made its usual attempt to classify and apply the sciences—as then understood—and to derive from the process a more rational theory of the universe. For want of a proper *Organon*—and also from an impatience of the slow labour of accurate and methodical observation—the Hindus failed to bring this attempt to a successful issue. But their two main systems—the *Nyāya* and the *Sāṅkhya*—show intelligent endeavour; the one synthetic the other by way of analysis. Of the *Nyāya* school it need only here be said that, though founded on a metaphysical analysis, it failed because it was non-inductive; and, not being based on a study of phenomena, has no inborn principle of permanence. But the *Sāṅkhya* school was more native to the race and consequently has been more fruitful. Its brilliant generalisation anticipated the latest schemes of modern philosophy, teaching that the source of force and matter was eternal and uniform, the phenomenal Kosmos being born of the union of material evolution with the perceiving mind.

Such, concisely stated, was the attitude of the early Hindu races as to the things of the spirit. In regard to that other and larger sphere, of conduct, the basis was laid in the same *à priori* soil. On the origin of law their earlier writers throw but little practical light. The so-called “Code of Manu” (supposed by Sir W. Jones to be analogous to the *Institutes* of Justinian, and a monument of the high civilisation of the Hindus in a remote antiquity) has been determined by modern science

to be a poetical *resumé* of rubric dating from about the second century after Christ (or even later.—M. Müller's *India* p. 91). The true record of the old Hindu institutions in times immediately succeeding the Vedic age, is to be sought in ancient text-books, of which one of the oldest is that of *Apastamba*. The professed object of these commentaries was to supply the many omissions of the Vedic text by doctrines inculcated by various religious schools or orders. This development of canons by a supposed tradition was in itself a wholesome process savouring of "legal fiction"; but it does not help much towards the discovery of an authoritative basis of law. For it implies the fallacy, so common to nascent societies, of supposing that law instead of emanating from the secular sovereign and varying with varying manners, is a sort of natural necessity arising out of the will of Heaven and the Constitution of the Kosmos. The penalties that formed its sanction were rather spiritual than secular; and when not purely spiritual were only removed in the secular direction by one step. For if a man were under the ban of Heaven for having disregarded its will it was but right that he should be excommunicated from decent society. But the idea of arming the State, as a social organ, with powers to impose commands and to inflict exemplary punishment for their violation did not occur to this primitive community.

Of law, thus conceived, the most formal digest appeared in the Deccan towards the end of the eleventh century of our era, when the Musalmans from Ghazni had gained the Punjáb and were threatening the whole country. It contemplates ideas of the family and the tribe in which the old Aryan religious thought still plays an active part; the *patria potestas*, the sacrifices to the *Pitris* or ancestral *Manes*, the segregation of the twice-

born tribes, are the basis of *status* and of succession. Contract is but dimly perceived. As in ancient Greece (and probably in other ancient European communities) the performance of funeral rites in honour of a deceased kinsman was necessary to the repose of his soul (vide *Horace* I. Od. xxviii). To enable a person to do this it was but right that he should inherit the estate on which it was a primal charge. Out of this arose the system of supplemental succession, and of adoption; with the curious ceremony of the *Srāddha*—originally a kind of All Souls day, where the dead were entertained as in the *Odyssey*. The daughters of the tribe were the sisters of all the sons; hence marriage—though prohibited as to strangers—was also prohibited as to those within an imagined consanguinity. This led to one of the most discreditable features of Hindu life, female infanticide; just as the prohibition of widow-marriage developed the inhuman practice of *Sati*, or widow-burning. *Tantum religio!*

The Codes begin with the constitution of courts and the frame of the suit. The archaic tribunal was a selection from the older members of the communal gathering; and the earliest procedure began by a seizure of the cattle of the person complained against. By that device the *onus* of action and of proof was thrown upon the defendant, and he sought redress at the hands of the elders. The estimated value of the distrained cattle was the stake, the distrainer being required to justify his attachment, or forfeit the amount in suit, on pain of social excommunication. In the Western branches of the race some such system also arose, which has there developed into trial by jury. In the East, after continuing through centuries of alternate tyranny and anarchy, it has melted away before the sunshine of

modern jurisprudence introduced and worked by a powerful but benign foreign government.

Lastly, we may briefly notice the classification of property which here, as elsewhere, pervaded the conception of commodities, causing the objects lying on either side of an arbitrary line to fall into two distinct provinces of law and justice. The chief division, among the ancient Hindus, was between property inherited as part of the corporate state of the family, and property acquired by the exertion of individual members. These two kinds of property appear to have been distinguished at an early date, as both were from the paraphernal, or peculiar property of women.

The land in each village was originally held on communal terms. Either the profits were brought into a common stock, or there was an annual partition of the land for cultivating purposes. As strangers began to intrude and ideas of ownership to develop, the partition became to some extent permanent. The share of the communal land remaining joint, in theory and partly in practice, a proportional holding was often allotted to a family, or a powerful intruder helped himself to a fragment which he carved out and separated. But the joint, or partly joint system, continued to be favoured where the people of the village were of one tribe; and that is still the ruling type in Northern Hindustan and the Punjáb to the present day.

Elphinstone and other writers have bestowed not wholly misplaced commendation on these village communes—tenacious little republics that have survived the storms of conquest and the mutability of human affairs. It cannot but be interesting to find a large population clinging to the institutions of the ancient world; the ideas and practices that were gradually abandoned by the

energetic Aryans who moved into the sterner climates of Europe and lived in a condition of ever-changing environments. By dint of apathy towards external influences and ignorance of the efforts necessary to adapt society to their changes, the Hindus long preserved their archaic habits ; but the gain to the student has been a loss for the society. Being regarded as a group of corporate families, whose conduct is to be friendly within and hostile without, and regulated by divine doctrine enforced by spiritual and social penalties, the Hindu society has greatly retarded its national organization. While peace lasted this, perhaps, was not felt as an evil ; but when foreign invasion came it rendered the disunited clans and tribes an easy prey to the invaders. The simple maxim *Divide et impera* was all that the latter had to recognize ; from the first conquest to the last there has never been any general fusion of the people for rebellion and emancipation.

In regard to the arts, some of the Hindu communities had made good progress in several directions. Their poetry has been glanced at. Their music—though not agreeable to the European ear trained in the Aretine gamut—is elaborate and scientific. Their painting and sculpture have suffered from an absence of natural taste, perhaps ; certainly from an absence of good models. Architecture, the art which provides for the comfort of man's home and the splendour of divine service, attracted more attention and more ability. It is still a moot point whether the Hindus, generally, understood the principle of the arch. It is certain that they did not favour its use. Consequently their temples and palaces, beginning with timber structures and caves hewn out of the living rock, remained for the most part to preserve a gloomy system of timid colonnades, horizontal sky-

lines, spaces restricted and dark, decorations minute in execution but grotesque in design. Fergusson's *Indian Architecture* contains beautiful specimens of this somewhat *rococo*, though painstaking art; especially as elaborated by the followers of the Jain belief. While, farther to the north, the Buddhist remains dating from the first century B.C. present beauty and truth of which Cunningham concludes that it was due to the teachings of Greek artists whose precepts were observed and whose models were copied long after the Greek—or Bactrian-Greek—dominion in North-Western India had passed away.

The later Hindu art shows still less taste and still more finish. Decoration became more ambitious and more grotesque. A wild demonology, borrowed from the indigenous superstitions, had taken the place of the sober simplicity of Jains and Buddhists. But the Hindu workman remained; he to whom is given, more than to most men, to sit contentedly upon the lap of mother earth, warmed by his native sunshine and tepid air, tapping with patient chisel on wood or stone, labouring for love, or for the minimum of subsistence. He has abundant holidays, and no haunting ambition to complete a vast design. The indicated pattern passes from his dying hand into that of his son; while each generation adds to hereditary experience an unquestioning docility for the execution of new designs.

Arithmetic and astronomy existed in the germ. The scale of calculation was binary, the fractions recognised being halves, quarters, eighths, and sixteenths. The unit of length was a human finger or an ox's hoof. The integer of weight was a berry or a seed. The apparent movements of the sun and of the moon were the regulators of human calculations in regard to affairs.

The month was divided into fortnights; the dark, or moonless, being followed by the bright or moonlit. Twelve of these natural divisions were brought into harmony with the solar year by the rude expedient of an intercalated month every third year. The seasons were known as "hot," "rainy," and "cold," four months to each. Medicine was treated as a branch of magic, sickness being regarded as a punishment for sin or a spite of the evil powers, according to the state of the conscience. In place of pathology they appealed to theology, and their *pharmacopœia* was a volume of charms.

Aryan civilisation was thus germinating, but it was in uncongenial soil. Like the descendants of Abraham and Jacob, the invaders mingled with the heathen and learned their ways. The older inhabitants were barbarous, multilingual, indolent; worshippers less of many gods than of many devils. The fusion that ensued was not happy; though the origin and growth of the caste system prevented complete union, it facilitated some of its evils; the character of the Aryan settlers became disastrously affected; the want of commercial communication by land and sea tended to perpetuate stagnation.

This was the state of things upon which the rising tide from Central Asia began to flow with resistless pertinacity after the Mongolo-Turkish power became established on the Oxus and the Helmand. It was not to be wondered at if the Arabs made no wide or lasting Indian conquests in the early ages of the Musulman era. At a time when they were engaged with the Christian Empires of the East and the West, when they were spreading the power of the crescent from the borders of Khorásán to the Pillars of Hercules, the

warriors of Islám had perhaps but little temptation to undertake further adventure. Certain it is that beyond the confines of Makrán and a part of Sindh (occupied less than a hundred years after the Hijra)—the Arab conquests did not spread in India. It was Násir-ud-Din Sabuktigin—certainly a Merv captive and popularly believed a scion of the Sassanian dynasty that once ruled Persia—by whom the first Muslim invasion of Hindustan was made in durable fashion. His master, Alptigin, having fled from the oppression of the Sámání dynasty of Bukhára in 962 A.D., had founded a principality at Ghazni. Sabuktigin acquired his favour, and was able, soon after his death, to acquire the succession. in 977 A.D. He established his power in the Punjáb; and his armies are said to have penetrated as far as Benares. On his death, 997 A.D., his son, the celebrated Sultan Mahmud, succeeded to the Empire extending from Balkh to Lahore, if not to Hansi. During a reign of over thirty years he invaded Hindustan twelve times, inflicting terrible carnage on the Hindus, desecrating their idols, and demoralising their temples. Mathura, Kanauj, Somnáth; to such distant and divergent points did his enterprises reach. Mahmud died 1080 A.D., and was buried at Ghazni, where his monument is still to be seen. For about one hundred years the dynasty continued to rule in the Punjáb and Afghanistan, more and more troubled by the neighbouring tribe of Ghor, who in 1187 A.D. took Lahore and put an end to the Ghaznavide dynasty. A prince, of the Ghorians—variously known, but whose name may be taken as Muhammad Bin Sâm*—was placed in a sort of almost independent viceroyalty at Ghazni. In 1191 A.D.

* The Shaháb-ud-dín Ghorí of *Alphinstone's History*.

he led an army against Sirhind, south of the Sut-laj river. Rai Pithaura, or Pirthi Rai, a chief of the Chauháns (who had lately possessed themselves of Dehli) marched against the invaders and defeated them in a battle where Bin Sám had a narrow escape from being slain. But the sturdy mountaineers would not be denied. Next year they returned with a force of which one portion consisted, according to the evidence of an eye-witness, of no less than one hundred and twenty thousand mounted men-at-arms, in addition to which was a body of light horse amounting to forty thousand more. The scene of the battle was near the city of Sirhind, and it was a complete victory for the invaders. Pithaura, alighting from his elephant, galloped from the field on horseback, but was overtaken and sent to Ghazni, where—or on the way—he is said to have committed suicide. He is remarkable for having raised masonry fortifications round old Dehli, where they are still traceable, and also for having made so good a stand against a foe not usually withstood to such purpose by the inhabitants of Hindustan. Lastly, he is to be remembered as the patron of the poet Chand, who commemorated his exploits and shared his fate. The towns of Mirat and Dehli fell upon his defeat; and their fall was followed a year later by that of Kanauj and Benares. The Viceroy's brother dying at this juncture, he repaired to his own country to establish his succession. He was killed in an expedition, 1206 A.D., and the affairs of Hindustan devolved upon his favourite Mameluke, Kutb-ud-din Aibak.

So far, then, the circumstances show a general resemblance to the early history of Italy, a peninsula that bears a similar relation to the continent near which we live to what India occupies in regard to Asia. Unlike

indeed the two regions are in present condition, the one being a dependency of foreigners whose home is far away, and whose ideas and practices are very dissimilar, while the other has at last achieved independence. There is, however, a coincidence in past history as there is in geographical character and situation. Possessing—though on a much vaster scale than Italy—the wall of mountain separating it from the hardy north, the wide well-watered plains tempt hungry highlanders; in either case the snowy barriers have proved quite ineffectual to guard the cities and fields from constant incursion, sometimes temporary, often ending in permanent occupation.

The difference in the results is chiefly due to ethnologic causes. In Italy amalgamation has ensued from the community of creeds and customs between conquerors and conquered. In India the people have wrapped themselves in sullen segregation and refused to bow to the supremacy and prestige of any of their foreign masters. Hence they have never had the means of conquering their conquerors, and assimilating with them to form a great and united nation. The Indian Aryans, and the indigenous races that they assimilated or enslaved, did, indeed,—to some extent—amalgamate. But when they had done so they lived apart, neither absorbing nor absorbed. And, in their segregation, they kept up their archaic ideas and institutions, without caring to adapt themselves to their new conditions. Hence they missed that social and political elevation and evolution that has formed the privilege of many races by no means their superiors—or even their equals—in natural gifts. From these causes their history has been uniformly unhappy. Indeed, it would be almost too sorrowful to have any element of attraction

if it were not for the change that has fortunately followed the latest conquest—if “conquest” be not too strong a word. A people hitherto apathetic and secluded has now breathed on by the spirit of modern administration. If it were not unbecoming in an Englishman one would wish to express a belief that the present rulers of India, with obvious shortcomings, are the most benevolent and conscientious of any of the foreigners to whom the people have been subjected. That a corresponding improvement in the condition and attitude of that people may gradually ensue will be the sincere aspiration of all careful and sympathetic students of their history.

[NOTE.—In this chapter I have attempted to avoid wearisome detail on an unattractive but necessary subject. The interest of the story that I have to tell—such as it may be—begins with the beginning of the Mughol Empire, which was the only serious attempt made, up to our own time, to administer good government to Hindustan. But it is absolutely essential to a right understanding of that attempt that we should understand what was the people on whom it was made. And to get that understanding one must see a little of the influences under which that people had to pass before the Empire arose. The materials for the Hindu period have been gathered from a number of sources; among which may be mentioned the works of Lassen and Max Müller, Muir’s *Sanskrit Texts*, Weber’s *Indian Literature*, Zimmer’s *Altindisches Leben*, Maine’s invaluable works on Ancient Law, and Dowson’s *Elliot*, Vols. I and II.]

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY MUSLIM EMPIRE, 1206-1526.

WHEN Muhammad bin Sâm had gone away, to rule and ultimately to perish by violence in his native highlands, his acquisitions in Hindustan came under the sway of Kutb-ud-din Aibak, a Mameluke, or Turkish slave, who had for a long time been his faithful follower. One of the Viceroy's first undertakings was to level to the ground the palaces and temples of the Hindus at Dehli, and to build, with the materials obtained by their destruction, a great Mosque for the worship of Allah. This he called "the Strength of Islâm"; and it still marks the site of the old Hindu capital, and still testifies to its origin by the shape of its pillars and the defaced sculptures which adorn this capital. The portico, it is true, is formed of arches, of which the central one is over fifty feet in height. But though the Turks demanded arches, they did not know how to construct them; and the native artificers whom they employed made arches by the only art they knew, in horizontal courses shaped like arches, but without the key-stone and voussoirs that give that form of opening its dynamic character.

For the further commemoration of his master, and to

perpetuate the fame of his conquests, he resolved that the tower from which was to be uttered the Muezzin's call to prayer in this sanctuary, should be that vast structure which still perpetuates the name of its founder in its popular designation (the Kutb-Minár). Round its base runs a band of bold and graceful arabesque—still sharp and clear—embodying inscriptions in honour of his lord, Bin Sâm; but for the last posterity the tower is still “the Tower of Kutb.” From 1192 to 1206, the year of Bin Sâm's death, Kutb-ud-din Aibak ruled as Viceroy. But it is recorded that the next Emperor—feeling the difficulty, perhaps, of exercising any sort of rule over so remote a dependency—sent Aibak a patent as “Sultán,” accompanied by a canopy of state, a throne and a diadem. Becoming Sultan of Hindustan, the distinguished and fortunate Mameluke founded what is known as “the Slave dynasty.” He is described in the *Tabákát-i-Násiri* to have been “a brave and liberal ruler”; but from what follows it is clear that this involved no care of his Hindu subjects. “The realm,” proceeds the Chronicle, “was filled with friends and cleared of foes: his bounty was continuous, and so was his slaughter.”

Aibak died at Lahore, in 1210, from an accident at a game now known as “polo.” He was contemporaneous with the great Mughul leader Changiz Khán, by whom, however, he was not molested. The chief event of his reign is to be found in his successful campaigns in Behár and Northern Bengal. The conquest was begun by a leader, of the Khilji tribe, named Bakhtiyár, who in Kámrup, A.D. 1205. The first settlement was of a blood-thirsty nature; when he had taken the town of Behár, Bakhtiyár found a large quantity of Hindu books; but it was found quite impossible to get them

read because "all the men had been killed" (*Tabákát*). The Musulmán power was not universally and firmly established in the Eastern Provinces till the reign of Balban (*circ.* 1282.)

At the death of Aibak the Empire was divided into four great portions. The Khiljis represented the power of Islám in Bihár and Bengal; the North-West Punjáb was under a viceroy named Ilduz, a Turkman slave; the valley of the Indus was ruled by another of these Mamelukes, named Kabácha; while an attempt was made at Dehli to proclaim an incompetent lad, son of the deceased, as Sultán. But the Master of the Horse, a third Mameluke named Altimsh, was close at hand, and, hurrying up at the invitation of influential persons there, speedily put down the movement. The qualities of Altimsh, as of all the men of his class, were those which contribute to success in life. He was sold (by his brothers, as we are told) to a merchant of Bukhára when very young. Eventually purchased by Aibak, at Dehli, he rapidly distinguished himself, so that he became chief of the body-guard and obtained the daughter of Sultán Aibak in marriage. It is as well to notice these things once for all, as they are typical of the curious workings of the slave-trade of Islám in those days.

Altimsh, having deposed his feeble brother-in-law, became Suzerain of the Empire. His satraps were not disposed to obedience; and bloody wars broke out, into the details of which we need not enter. It will be sufficient to note that Ilduz was defeated and slain A.D. 1215. Two years later Kabácha came up from Sindh, and seems have enlisted some of the Muslim hordes in his armies. These formidable barbarians, of whom more anon, were now in force in Khorásm under

Changiz in person, assisted by two of his sons. They drove before them the Sultán of Khwarizm (now Khiva), and occupied Afghanistan. The fugitive, whose adventures are among the most romantic episodes of Eastern history, attempted to settle himself in the Panjáb; but he was driven out by Altimsh and Kabácha in 1223. Two years later Altimsh moved on the Khiljis in the Eastern Provinces, occupied Gaur, their capital; and proceeding from thence made further conquests south and north at the expense of the Hindus. In 1228 he turned against Kabácha, the mighty Satrap of Sindh, who was routed in battle near Bakkhar, where he committed suicide or was accidentally drowned. In 1232-3 the Sultán reduced Gwalior (in spite of a stout resistance on the part of the Hindus under Milak Deo) slaying seven hundred prisoners at the door of his tent. In 1234 he took the province of Málwa; where he demolished the great temples of Bhilsa and Ujain. In the following year this puissant warrior of the Crescent succumbed to the common conqueror, dying a natural death at Dehli, after a glorious reign of twenty-six (lunar) years. His metropolis, like that of his former master, Aibak, was in the reconstructed but strongly-defended city of Rai Pithaura, which he greatly beautified, completing the Kutb Minár, and the great mosque, as also a college and a tomb for himself, great part of which is still standing. His eldest son, who had conducted the war against the Khiljis, had died before him, and the Empire was assumed by a younger son, Rukn-ud-din Firoz. This was a dissolute young man, entirely ruled by his mother, a Turkman lady much given to religion and revenge. In a quarrel with her daughter she got worsted and was imprisoned, and the Sultán, attempting to deliver her, met with a similar fate. His

sister succeeded with the title of Sultan Razia, in November 1236. She appears to have done her best, in times too stormy for a woman, or for any but the strongest man. Assuming male attire, she showed herself to the people on an elephant's back, and conducted the affairs of war and peace with the assistance of the Turkish nobles. Being ultimately overthrown by a rebellious chief, she was imprisoned in 1240. While in captivity, she was married to the rebel. But another brother, named Bahram, had in the meanwhile become master of Dehli and assumed the title of Sultán. Razia and her husband vainly encountered him. They fled from the field, and were murdered by some Hindu villagers at or near Kaithal. This occurred in October 1240. Next year Lahore was taken by the Mughols with terrific carnage. Troubles ensued; Dehli was besieged by the army that had been raised for its defence against the Mughols; in May 1242 the city was taken by storm and the new Sultán was slain.

His successor, Alá-ud-din I., was a grandson of Altimsh, incompetent and apathetic as young men in his position have usually been. The land was partitioned among Turkish satraps, and overrun by the Mughols, who penetrated as far as Gaur in Bengal. Another horde, led by Mangu, grandson of Changiz, and father of the celebrated Kiblai Khán, ravaged the Western Punjáb. The Sultán marched against them and met with a partial success. This turned into evil courses the little intellect that he had, a plot was organised for his destruction. Alá-ud-din was slain, and his uncle Násir-ud-din was placed upon the vacant throne in June 1246. Násir's reign was long, and, so far as his personal exploits went, would have been uneventful. But the risings of the Hindus and the incursions of the Mughols kept the

Empire in perpetual turmoil, only partially appeased by the exertions of a great public servant who was destined to a long career crowned by the highest triumph. Ulagh Khán was of the ancient stock of the Turkman Khákáns of Albári in Turkestan. Falling into the hands of the slave-dealers he was taken into India, and purchased with a number of other young Turks by Sultán Altimsh (their countryman, it will be remembered) in 1232. After the manner of all these Mamelukes he soon began to mix in political intrigues, and under Sultán Razia became Master of the Hunt, in which appointment he was confirmed by her successor. He obtained in succession the fiefs of Riwári and Hansi, and in 1242-3 was made head of the palace, a post which seems to have involved primacy in military and civil administration. He now conducted a campaign in the Dúáb in which "he fought much against the infidels" (that is to say the Hindu inhabitants), and in 1245 he successfully encountered Mangu Khán and his Mughols in the Punjáb. He then returned to Dehli and took part in the revolution that seated Násir-ud-din upon the throne. The rest of that monarch's reign is little more than a record of his Minister's warrings against the Hindus and Mughols, sometimes combined, sometimes acting separately. Balban—to give him by anticipation the name by which Ulagh Khán is known in history—had the wisdom and the good fortune to surround himself with kinsmen and friends who were both faithful and capable, and it may be doubted whether in the whole course of history there is an instance of more durable prosperity than what marked his career. He made enemies—as was but natural—and he fell into disgrace in the year 1252. After some obscure conflicts he was pardoned and restored to favour,

and it is observed by a contemporary that a drought of some duration ceasing on Balban's return to Dehli, it was "no wonder that the people looked upon his return as a happy omen, and all were grateful to the Almighty." A rising of the Hindus, fostered by a Turkish rival of Balban's, was suppressed in 1255, and a similar movement in the neighbourhood of Mount Abu in Rájputána met with a similar fate in 1257. In the same year a dangerous conspiracy was put down at Dehli. In 1259 occurred another incursion of the Mughols, by the usual route of Multan, and so formidable was it deemed that poets were commissioned to produce patriotic odes "to stir up the feelings of the Muhammadans."

Whether owing to the warlike fervour thus created, or to some failure in the spirit of the successor of Changiz, the Mughols were kept off for the time, and the Minister had leisure to turn once more against the Hindus of the Dúáb, with whom certain malcontents of the Turkish nobility had made common cause. These latter were conciliated and called to Court, and then the hand of Balban fell upon their deserted allies. Meanwhile Huláku Khán, the chief of the Mughols, having taken Baghdád and overthrown the Khalifate, sent an embassy to the Court of Dehli: the motive of which was, probably, the death of his brother Mangu and the consequent desire in his mind to retire on his own country and establish his power there. Balban took the opportunity of receiving the Mughol envoys with all due pomp and circumstance. He had caused the Court to move to a new palace in the suburb of Kilokhari, on the Jumna, to the eastward of old Dehli, where it had hitherto been situated. The gates were decked with stuffed skins of Hindus, who appear to have been slaughtered for the purpose. Twenty lines of armed

soldiers, horse and foot, guarded the approaches, rendered still more impressive from being supported by ranks of caparisoned elephants. When the envoys entered the town they were received with due honours and conducted to the throne-room. The palace was splendidly decorated, and the nobility and officers were gorgeously arrayed. After the ceremony the astounded barbarians were solemnly conducted to their lodgings. The Hindus, once more deserted by their allies, met with their usual bitter fortune. In a brilliant campaign Balban drove them into the hills, where he pursued them, and massacred twelve thousand men, women, and children.

The rest of the acts of Násir and all that he did, are they not written in the word used by a somewhat later historian of the succeeding reign? Balban used his master's sons as a "show," says Ziá-ud-din Barni, writing of him a century later. It is probable that this maintenance of a *roi jainéant* was useful to Balban while he was menaced by the rivalry of his fellow Mamelukes (known in history as "The Forty," or "The Shamsis," from the prænomen of their original master, Shams-ud-din Altimsh). But as these grew older and less active, his own great deeds and services rendered him more and more conspicuous, more and more able to stand alone. We do not know exactly what happened; for Minháj, the author of the *Tabákát*, who was able to have told us, has kept silence, and other contemporary history is not forthcoming. But in 1266 the quiet monarch passed away—it is believed in captivity—and Balban ascended the throne by the title of Sultán Ghayás-ud-din, just forty-four years after his first arrival at Dehli, and when he must have been about sixty years of age. His reign was distinguished by the same qualities that had marked

his conduct as a Minister, with the additional pomp that became the situation. Barni is the principal authority for the period. The historian lived in the succeeding century; his work appears to have been impartial and a labour of love, designed, avowedly, as a continuation of the *Tabakát*. The author declares that in what relates to Balban's reign he has written down what he received from his father and grandfather, and from those who had held high office in the State. During the thirty years that had elapsed since the death of Altimsh the quarrels of the nobles and the weakness of the various rulers had given great room for abuses and excesses, and consequent discontent and demoralisation among the people. But such was the prestige of the Sultán that insubordination and insolence at once began to abate. He remodelled the army, placing the best officers in command. He established rigorous justice, not scrupling to punish severely offences committed by his late comrades of "The Forty"; as when one of these, having slain a man, was given as a slave to the deceased's widow, but allowed to redeem his freedom by a lavish ransom. He set on foot an army of spies by whose means he obtained—or was believed to obtain—universal knowledge of events. He gave up drinking, to which he had been somewhat addicted; and affected such personal magnificence and such strict etiquette that his private servants never saw him without his robes. He allowed no joking in his presence, and was never seen to laugh. Instead of wasting the resources of the State in vain aggressions, he kept constant watch over the defence of his territories, ever threatened with Mughol invasion. To those who objected that this quiescent attitude was derogatory he replied, "I have devoted all the revenues to the equipment of my army,

and I hold all my forces prepared to receive the Mughols. I never leave my kingdom." It is plain that, whoever else benefited, the unfortunate Hindus were gainers by this state of things. "If this anxiety were only removed," said the Defender of the Faith, "I would soon despoil the *Ráís* and *Ránas*." But the troops were by no means kept idle. Balban went into sport with characteristic solemnity. For forty miles round Dehli the whole country was a preserve; and during the cold season he would beat it all day long accompanied by thousands of his soldiers. Huláku heard of these expeditions at Baghdád. "Balban is an old soldier," he said, "there is more in his practice than a mere peaceful pastime." Indeed more serious hunting was soon undertaken, though the Mughols were not, at first, its objects. The Mewátis on one side, the dacoits of Patiáli (whose descendants are still heard of in our own day) on the other, were scourged and for the time reduced to good behaviour.

The Sultán's eldest son was worthy of his father. To the military tastes of a prince he added a love of culture which was peculiarly his own. He surrounded himself with scholars and poets. Amir Khusru (surnamed "Tota") was his favourite, and he invited the poet Sádi to visit him from Shiráz—though the great poet excused himself on the ground of old age. At his table loose talk was unknown, and he is an almost solitary instance of a Muslim of rank who took wine in moderation. To this accomplished prince was confided the protection of the North-West Frontier, his headquarters being at Multán. Second only in danger and importance were the Gangetic provinces of Bihár and Bengal; which, by reason of their distance from Dehli and their great fertility, were constantly forming a temp-

tation to their viceroys to assume independence. This course was adopted in Balban's reign by a Turkish governor named Tughril. But the old Sultán, after two ineffectual expeditions conducted by deputies, proceeded to Gaur in person. The rebellious Viceroy fled to Tippera, where he was pursued and killed, and the government was entrusted to the Sultán's second son, Mahmud. The Sultán, who was stern and pitiless when policy appeared to require such qualities, made a frightful example of all those who had taken part in the rebellion, and before leaving Gaur enforced the moral on his son. "Didst thou see, Mahmud?" he asked. The surprised prince making no answer, the question was repeated again and yet again. "Didst thou see my punishments in the streets of Gaur?" he explained. "If ever you feel inclined to waver in your allegiance, remember what you saw here."

Taking leave of his son with this grim warning, the old Sultán returned to Dehli and judged some more rebels, of whom he proposed to make an avenue of gibbeted carcasses. But in all his austerity there was room for pardon when the proper moment seemed to have arrived. The Kázi of the army interceded for the prisoners, and the Sultán granted them grace.

All this time Prince Muhammad, the heir-apparent, was ruling wisely at Multán, and duly remitting to Dehli, year by year, his tributes and reports. At last came disaster, such as, soon or late, ever awaits the most prosperous life. The Prince was slain in repelling a Mughol invasion, and the aged Sultán sank under the blow. Feeling his end approaching, and aware of the perils of an interregnum, he sent for the chief men of his council, set aside prince Mahmud, who was away at his distant post, and endeavoured to have the deceased

Prince Muhammad's son Khusru acknowledged as heir. The chiefs promised obedience ; but when the old Sultán's eyes were closed for ever they sent the young an to his late father's post at Multán, and put on the throne the son of the absent Mahmud. The date of these events is in 1286-7. The new Sultán was named Kai Kobád.

This unfortunate y^{de} sole an was destined to prove the futility of human wil^{counti}. Educated by his stern and serious grandfather, his lips had never touched those of a girl or a goblet. His sudden elevation turned his head. He gave himself up to debauchery, caused his cousin Khusru to be murdered, and was himself ultimately killed in his palace at Kilokhari, while lying sick of the palsy. With his death (1290) came to an end the Mameluke Empire of Hindustan.

The new ruler was an officer of the army, of the Khilji tribe of Patháns, who ascended the throne with the title of Jalál-ud-din Firoz. He was a clement and convivial old soldier, who put down rebellion but spared the rebels. His armies were commanded, chiefly, by his able nephew, whom he trusted blindly. He was murdered in 1296 by this nephew, who immediately assumed the Empire by the title of Alá-ud-din. From the commencement of this reign the testimony of the historian Barni becomes that of an eye-witness. We have, in addition, that of the poet Khusru, mentioned above as an associate of Balban's eldest son. Of him it has been correctly asserted, by the late Professor Dowson, that "his authority is great as a narrator, for he was not only a contemporary with the events which he describes, but was a participator in many of them, and

Barni appeals to him frequently for confirmation of his own assertions."

Alá-ud-din, according to these observers, became Sultán of Dehli in the latter part of the year 1296; and administered the Empire with skill and good fortune. Like his predecessors, he warred against the Hindus; for these chronicles are like parts of the Hebrew story in the mention they make of the punishment of the heathen. From the constant occurrence of the expression "Ráis and Ránas" it appears that some sort of indigenous government not only existed but was recognised. But we read of no relations between them and these early Musulman Emperors but those of warfare. Alá-ud-din continued in the same course. "When he advanced from Karra, the Hindus in alarm descended into the ground like ants. He departed towards the garden of Bihár to dye the soil as red as a tulip. He cleared the road to Ujain of vile wretches and caused consternation in Bhilsa. He destroyed the temples of the idolaters and erected pulpits and arched mosques." The temple of Somnáth was plundered and desecrated, Chitor was taken with great bloodshed, and the Rái of Deogir submitted and was pardoned. Then came a mutiny of a part of the army composed of converts—whether of Hindu or Mughol origin we are not informed, probably the latter. It was put down with frightful severity. In the third year of the reign occurred a new incursion of foreign Mughols, under a son of the ruler of Central Asia, who appears to have become a Muslim. The invaders marched to Dehli direct from the Indus, without stopping to do any mischief by the way. As it seemed plain that their object was to occupy the capital and subvert the Empire, the Sultán lost no time in gathering together his army and marching out to meet the enemy before the latter could reach the neighbourhood of the city. The encounter

took place at Kili, a spot that I have not been able to identify, but probably near what is now known as the "Najafgarh jhil." After a hot day's fighting the Mughols fell back during the night, but one of the bravest of the Imperial generals was slain.

The Emperor, who was an illiterate, though valiant and energetic soldier, became much inflated with all this success. He fancied himself a second Alexander, who, like his prototype, assumed the god ; and proposed, in his drinking-bouts, to establish a new religion. He completed the demolition of the Hindu shrines in old Dehli, and enlarged the great mosque with the carved stones thus obtained. On the south side he built the beautiful gateway that still bears his name ; and he laid the foundations of a tower on the other side that was to be in all respects double the dimensions of the Minár of Kutb-ud-din. He strengthened and extended the walls, cementing the masonry with the blood and bones of his Mughol prisoners-of-war, thousands of whom he slew for the purpose. He suppressed several formidable plots in his own family and Court, and introduced a very rigorous system of administration intended to strike at all accumulation of wealth, whether in the shape of private estates or of endowments. He adopted the system of espionage, to which Balban had been so much indebted, prohibited wine-parties and gambling, and discouraged hospitality and social intercourse among the higher classes. For the spoliation of the Hindus (though it does not appear that they had taken any part in the plots and rebellions that were the pretext) special measures were adopted. From the details of these measures, which are minutely recorded by Barni, it would seem that, amid all previous persecution, the people of the country had maintained their property and

their territorial usages. Under the new system, "the Hindu was to be so reduced as to be unable to keep a horse to ride, or to bear arms, wear good clothing, or enjoy the comforts of life." The land was measured, and assessed to pay half the gross produce—one tenth being, in the common experience of almost all times and countries, the average surplus—"men looked upon revenue-officers as something worse than fever," and no wonder. The Sultán seldom consulted lawyers—a deadly heresy in Islám—professing to have a higher law in his views of expediency. But on an occasion when he did, for once, condescend to inquire of a chief Kázi as to the rights of the monarch in the taxation of heathen subjects, he got an opinion which, though more favourable than he seems to have expected, by no means satisfied him. For the learned man only assured His Majesty that the Hindus were taxable to the extent of the lawful tribute so long as they received the protection of the Muslim ruler, the duty of whose offices was confined to levying the same with every circumstance of ignominy and contempt. Such was the law of Hanifa, which was the law of the Empire, and substituted a fixed tribute for the old alternative of "Islám or death." "Ah! Doctor," cried the Sultán, "thou art a sage and I but an unlettered soldier. I know nothing of lawful tribute, but I have seen a great deal; and of this I am resolved, that no Hindu shall have more left to him than will buy the flour and milk necessary to keep him alive. No Hindu property or tribute for me." On many other points the Kázi tried to enlighten the Sultán, and he did so in fear of his life. But the Sultán was too wise to show his anger, and contented himself with saying that the law of the Prophet was one thing, and the policy of a great State another.

Another measure which must appear strange to us, was the enactment of a fixed tariff for the price of food stuffs. The way in which this economical heresy—perhaps more startling to modern statesmen than the one about law—was made to work was this. The Sultán established great granaries, well-filled and guarded. When bad seasons came and grain could no longer be produced in the markets at the prescribed price, the stores of the State were thrown open and their contents were sold at the old rate. What happened if the famine lasted after the stocks had been thus exhausted does not appear.

In these occupations, varied by successful defences of the Northern country against the Mughols, the early and middle part of this extraordinary reign passed on in a sort of dull tranquillity. The awe-struck people ceased to conspire or rebel; the army was maintained in efficiency; the invaders were kept away. But there were two men preparing, one of whom was to avenge the oppressed, and the other to subvert the oppressor's dynasty. The worm was already at the root of the great blood-watered tree that was overshadowing the land.

Among the captives brought back from Cambay in one of the early expeditions of the reign was a fair youth who obtained the Sultán's favour and was advanced under the name of Malik Káfur. The first occasion on which he distinguished himself was in the campaigns against Deogir already mentioned; and the pardon (and indeed restoration) of the Rája which followed is such an unusual occurrence as to suggest that the promoted captive had Hindu sympathies. In 1309 Káfur was entrusted with another expedition of a like kind against the Hindu ruler of Arangal in the Deccan. Supported

by the Rájá of Deogir the army arrived at its destination and laid siege to the enemy's fortifications, which were covered by an earth-work. The earth-work being stormed, the Rájá made his submission, which was accepted in the same manner as had been that of the chief of Deogir. These peaceable settlements are new features in the Muhammadan warfare of the period. In 1810-11 Káfur continued to conduct himself like a wise and valiant general.

The prosperity of the Sultán, however, now began to decline. Undermined by bad habits, he became the victim of dropsy. Secluded with Káfur, he was only heard of when some deed of blood was ordered from the interior of the palace. At last all was over. "Some say that the catamite Káfur helped his disease to a fatal end." The strong self-willed warrior who had known no law but his own ideas of the State's welfare, passed away. His system, centered in him as it was, passed away at the same moment.

With all his wickedness Káfur was a resolute soldier, and in the commander of the north-west frontier, Gházi Malik Tughlak, he had a comrade who was (for a wonder) too patriotic to be a danger to him. But Káfur conceived a strong suspicion of danger nearer home, and entered on a course of protective bloodshed, in which he was ere long cut short by his own guards, who slew him and opened the door to a fresh revolution. It has been observed that Káfur was from the western coast, and, possibly, by birth a Hindu. Another man of his class, Malik Khusru by title, was the leader of the new movement, which was decidedly in the Hindu interest. For some five months Dehli became a scene of idolatry and Hindu rejoicing, which the stern Warden of the Marches, Tughlak, did not dare to interrupt, because his

son Juna was living, an unwilling hostage, in the desecrated capital. At last Juna contrived to effect his escape, and his father met him in the Punjáb. Advancing on Dehli, he had little difficulty in defeating the untrained Hindus and the mercenary Muslims who affected to serve them. Khusru was killed; and the General then convened a council and demanded that the heir of the Khilji dynasty should be brought forward. None such appearing, Tughlak was unanimously called upon to reign. This took place in 1320. The old soldier only ruled five years, during which he was usually at war. At last, on returning from a campaign in the Eastern Provinces, he was killed by an "accident" contrived by Juna, his ungrateful son.

In spite of unusual abilities, Juna, or Tughlak II., was unsuccessful in the attempt to administer the Empire that he had been so impatient to seize. He presented a combination—rare in those days—of literature without religion, and culture without humanity. That is his character as drawn by Barni, who knew him well and had no personal grievance against him. Having produced a famine in the country about Dehli by his mischievous and meddlesome management, he proposed to remedy matters by deporting the population to Deogir, in the Deccan. Myriads died on the way. He then tried to repeople the Dehli territory from other localities. His harshness was not systematic or strong, like that of Balban, or even of Alá-ud-din. Consequently revolts arose, and many provinces were lost. Many times he tried to justify himself in conversations with Barni; for his literary instincts led him to feel that he was on his way to take his trial at the bar of posterity. But his conduct became no wiser and no more humane. After a reign of fourteen years he died

of fever in Sindh, leaving in the awe and horror of the public mind a monument in the title of *Khuni Sultán* (the "Bloody Lord") which will mark him to the end of time.

Among the nobles who were with the Bloody Lord at the hour of his death was his cousin Firoz, whom he had educated with a view to the succession. Firoz was at once acclaimed Emperor by the army and marched at its head to Dehli, where he assumed the Government in 1340. Being of orthodox piety he has endeared himself to the Muslim historians; but he has also left a true and most pleasing picture of himself in a short memoir by his own hand. In spite of his unquestioning puritanism he cherished the memory of the free-thinking patron who had made the Empire a Golgotha and caused the cities of the faithful to run with Muslim blood. He buried Juna in a magnificent tomb, having first sought out, as he informs us, "all who had been maimed by my departed lord, and the surviving kindred of such as had been slain by his command. These I compensated, and took from them letters of acquittance, which I placed by him in the grave." Tender thought of a despotic ruler, to provide a dead patron with these vouchers for the Great Audit! He chose out the names of the best of the early rulers to be recited in the weekly Litany before his own. He repaired their tombs when broken down, and completed the structures that they had left unfinished. Not till all this was done, till the wishes of the dead kings had been cared for and their fame secured, did Firoz turn to projects of his own. Then he began building on his own account. A list of his various works would be tedious (and most of them have crumbled into dust), but he abandoned the blood-stained cities of the past, and founded one on the Jumna bank, extending from the plain of Indarpat to the south

as far as what is now known as the "House of Hindu Rao" upon the northern ridge, a distance of some ten miles long. This extensive new town contained eight public mosques, each accommodating, on an average, ten thousand worshippers. This would imply a Muslim population of some 350,000 souls, besides the heathen. A stern, undecorated style marks the works of this reign.

Towards the Hindus Firoz was little more inclined to show indulgence than the worst of his predecessors. We may learn from the history of the ancient Israelites that toleration of idolatry was no part of the Shemitic ideal of good government. Remitting a number of taxes estimated at three millions of *tankas* (whatever that may have been*) Firoz indemnified himself by a rigorous incidence of the capitation in lieu of death, which, as we have already seen, formed the peculiar device of the Hanifi school that regulated the law of the Empire. This tax he extended to the Brahmans, who had apparently hitherto obtained exemption. His intolerance did not by any means stop here: he informs us that he destroyed Hindu temples wherever found, and put to death all who adhered to idol-worship after due warning. But the best of men cannot be successful unless they are of their age.

After a long reign Firoz abdicated, being succeeded by his grandson, and died on the 21st of September, 1388, aged upwards of eighty. After a series of short and troubled reigns the dynasty was brought to an end by the last of the mediæval Mughol invasions under the terrible Taimur Lang ("Tamerlane") who, on the day of his attack on Dehli, massacred no less than three

* It is generally believed that the earlier *tanka* was equal to one-tenth of a rupee. In later monetary language, a "silver *tanka*" was probably of the same value as the more recent rupee.

hundred thousand Hindu captives. By this time the Mughols had been converted to the faith of Islám, but their conversion had by no means tamed their hereditary ferocity. Taimur was no milder than Chanziz, and after the sack of Dehli—for which, however, he had the grace to express regret—a new massacre took place, chiefly of Muslims.

Taimur then returned to Turkestan, retaining a titular suzerainty over Hindustan. Dehli shrank to the dimensions of a petty Sáýad principality which left few traces, and which gave way to an Afghan dynasty known as the line of Lodi. The first ruler of this line was Bahlol, grandson of Malik Bahrám who had been governor of Multán, under Firoz. Becoming Satrap of Sirhind he incurred the hostility of the Dehli king, Sultán Muhammad, and, on that sovereign's death, took advantage of the absence of his son, to seize Dehli and proclaim himself Emperor; the date is believed to be 19th April 1451. The Empire by this time existed but in name, rulers of Turkish and Afghan blood having partitioned the provinces among themselves, and the Lodi power originally was one of these, and established in the Punjáb. The dwindled dimensions of the crown dominion under the Sáýad dynasty may be judged of by the distich, preserved by tradition, that was current at the time :—

Padsháhi Sháh Álam
As Dehli tá Pálam.

As who should say—

Great Britain extends
To the East and West Ends.

The reign of Sultán Bahlol which succeeded, was long and prosperous. He extended the limits of the

Empire, especially to the east and south. He founded the city of Agra, and appears to have made use of some of the Hindu chiefs. He is highly spoken of by historians as a temperate, amiable, and most courageous prince: much of his success was attributed to his appreciation of the Mughol troops—of whom he is said to have entertained twenty thousand in his service. He died on the 1st July 1489, and was buried at Dehli, where his tomb is still to be seen. . He was succeeded by his son Sikandar, who transferred the capital to Agra: his time is remarkable as the period when the Hindus first began to study Persian. After a prosperous reign of twenty-one years he died a natural death at Agra, and was succeeded by his son Sultán Ibrahim, on the 17th February 1510.* As this monarch's reign is chiefly remarkable for the conquest of the Empire by Bábar (which forms the beginning of the so-called Mughol Empire of Hindustan) we may take the opportunity of briefly reviewing the state of the country under the early Muslim dynasties and examining the origin of the "Mughols" of whom we hear so much during their dominion.

First, as to the Mughols. It will have been observed above that the early Muslim conquerors of Hindustan have been spoken of as "Turkmán" or Turkish, while those who, after overrunning Turkestan, attempted to follow them to India and disturb them in their conquests have been designated as Mughols. It may be anticipated from this that the Mughol was a Turk in embryo, and a Turk little more than a Muslimised Mughol. But it will be seen that the difference was considerable.

* Firishta, on the authority apparently of the *Táríkh-i-Dáúdí*, gives the date 1517, but Beale, in the *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* shows this to be an error.

We have reason to believe that the Turkmán conquerors of India were a handsome and not uncultured race. What "the Mughols of Changiz" were, we may learn from those who had the bad fortune to come in contact with them, especially the poet Khusru, who was taken by them in the action in which Sultán Balban's son lost his life, and who passed some time in captivity among them. According to Khusru the Mughols of those days were undersized, yellow, flat-faced savages, speaking a monosyllabic jargon, and for the most part ignorant of agriculture, architecture, or any art save those of horsemanship and predatory warfare.* Yet the poet seems to have admitted a consanguinity, at least he expressly calls these nomads "Turks of Kai," making a pun on the nausea that they inspired with the name of a well-known tribe, in fact the direct ancestors of the gentlemanly Osmanlis now settled at Constantinople.

The explanation may be as follows. It has been shown (by Major Raverty in the papers of the Oriental Congress of 1876) that Central Asia maintains an old genealogic tradition, according to which Japhet is the ancestor of the yellow, not of the white, races. It is asserted that Japhet (known as Huzrat Yáfith ibn Nuh or "the son of Noah") had eight sons, of whom the eldest, Turk, settled in the neighbourhood of Lake Issi-Kol, to the north of the Altai range (about 78° E. long. and 48° N. lat.) and gave the name of Turkestan to the country of which the centre may be said to be at Tashkand. The fifth in descent from Turk was Alinja, in whose time the people became idolaters.

* It should be added that under Kublai Khán—before their conversion to Islám—they had already begun to develop an art and civilisation of their own, but it was not to be looked for in the predatory hordes who invaded Hindustan.

Alinja divided his heritage between his two sons, Tátár and Mughol, under whom were formed two distinct septs, or *aimáks*, known by the names of their respective founders. A third tribe, retaining the name of the common ancestor Turk, went south-west and associated with the *Tájiks* (Aryan population in India, those of Aibak, Altimsh, and Balban,) of Khwarism and Khorásán, the mixed race becoming known as Turkmáns, "Turk-like." In point of fact we know that the Turkish hordes, the Seljuks and Kais, wandered westward as far back as the second century of the Christian era, and having embraced Islám in due course and married Aryan wives for many generations, became as much objects of hostility to the Mughols when these in turn began their westward movement as if they had not traced their common pedigree to Japhet. The Turanians were all exogamous and practised marriage by capture. In the introduction to Erskine's learned fragment on the *History of India*, will be found an able summary of what followed. Successive waves of the tribes of Yáfith poured westward into Europe and the western parts of Central Asia, where they sometimes acted in bands, sometimes individually, in both cases amalgamating socially with the offspring of the earlier inhabitants whom they found there. Numbers also were caught and sold by the slave-hunters, these were enrolled in the body-guards of Asiatic princes and formed the source from which those princes loved to select their most trusted officers. In the decline of the Khalifate these men conducted constant revolutions. In Ghazni we have seen the career of Sabaktigin. Such, in later days, were the Mamelukes of Egypt.

"In India," continues Mr. Erskine, "the Turka

never affected to monopolise all the authority of the kingdoms which they obtained. The natives shared in the administration of the country, and in military commands. They found a country already populous, and its territories fully occupied by civilised inhabitants. . . . They had none of the exterminating ferocity of Changiz, and were not so insane as to have a wish to expel the cultivators from lands, the value of which was solely owing to their labour."

Hence, under the pressure of barbarian invasion, and with the comparatively mild system of Abu Hanifa, the various dynasties, Turkmán and Pathán, of whom we have given a necessarily brief summary, continued to rule Hindustán and some of the outlying provinces for over three hundred years, during which the Hindus appear to have followed their own laws and made their language the basis of a new vernacular.

It will, however, be necessary to admit that of these times we know little, excepting so far as regards wars, palace-revolutions and architecture; of the condition of the Hindus and other indigenous races we have but occasional glimpses. It may be supposed that the bulk of the people lived a quiet, industrious, frugal life, only interrupted by occasional calls to arms from their native leaders, the "Ráis and Ránas" whom we sometimes see being chastised for rebellion. They would regard their foreign conquerors, generally, as a burden laid upon them by the caprice of fortune, and would pursue their avocations of trade and agriculture—so far as military licence would allow—under that necessity of living which makes men labour in the most calamitous circumstances. The origin of the "Urdu" language, which dates from this period, tells us that there must have been intercourse between them and the Muslims;

and the fact that the two great systems of Hindu law which still share the allegiance of the peninsula arose under Muhammadan rule shows that—as in Greece under the Osmánlis—the people maintained a good deal of practical autonomy. It is not till a later period that we hear of any attempt at introducing a *lex loci* on the part of the conquerors. And we know that the attempt failed. Of the general contemptuous estimation of the Hindus in the early Muslim Empire we find illustrations in the chroniclers. Thus, a lawyer delivers the following opinion to one of the Sultáns:—"When the Hindus are called on to pay taxes, let them do so with all humility and submission. And should the collector offer to spit in their faces, they are to hold up their faces that he may do so; in this guise should they stand before the collectors, the object being to show the obedience of infidel subjects, to promote the glory of Islám, and to express contempt for false religions. . . For the Korán says. 'They must either accept Islám, or be killed, or be enslaved.' Only as followers of Abu Hanifa are we able to substitute the capitation-tax."

It was consistent with the narrow fanaticism, not confined in those days to Asia, that taxation should be put on such a basis. But, in reality, it was the only possible alternative to complete toleration; and for that the times were not prepared.

Evidently, then, the Hindus suffered, whether their rulers were weak or strong. They suffered from the ravages of the Mughols, from the oppression of the Sultáns, and from the rapine of feudatory chiefs. Nevertheless, they clung to their old institutions. These archaic systems—in themselves sufficient to make India one of the most interesting countries in the world—defied the storms of mediæval tyranny and are only

now relaxing in the sunshine of the *Pax Britannica*. They display in full operation ideas and mental habits which in Europe had died out before the age of Justinian. The Hindus of those days did without much forensic machinery. Yet it can hardly be supposed that the law was as efficacious when the suit took the form of private distraint, when the Court consisted of five elderly ploughmen, and when the execution of the award was left to public opinion, as would have been the case had it been administered, as now, by a conscientious and tolerant alien Government. And, if Hindu society suffered from the State's neglect, still more must the State have suffered by losing the chief means of connecting itself with the thoughts and affections of the people.

The *Urdu* or "Hindustani" language, which has already been mentioned as originating in this period, is an application of Western *Prākṛit*, or colloquial Sanskrit, to the common purposes of all classes. It is still growing, and promises to become in no long time the *lingua franca* of the entire Peninsula. Using, as it did, the Perso-Arabic character, and borrowing impartially from all the current vocabularies, it became not only a means of oral intercourse but the vehicle of a considerable local literature. It fostered the increase of the intercourse between conquered and conquerors out of which it sprang; and its existence distinctly points to a stage in national life resembling the growth of English in the reigns of the Plantagenet kings of this country.

We can form no exact estimate of the revenue or of the population of the early Muslim Empire of Hindustan. We neither know the actual value of its money, nor the precise extent of its limits. The crazy Muhammad Tughlak (Juna) tried to introduce a copper cur-

rency, but we are told that it failed. It was he also who lost many outlying provinces. Under his successor, who recovered but a portion, the revenue was sixty-five millions of *tankas*, and we can only conjecture that the *tanka* was somewhat analogous to our modern rupee. The sources of this revenue were :—

1st. The *Khirāj*, a tithe on agricultural produce, levied from all classes of cultivators, Muslim and non-Muslim alike.

2nd. The *Jizia*, or capitation levied from heretics and heathen.

3rd. The fifth of war-prize and of the yield of mines; probably a fluctuating and inconsiderable item.

If each family be estimated at five souls, and the Muslims at one-fifth of the community, and if, further, we may trust the estimate given by the historian Afif (that the *jizia* was ten and a half *tankas* a head) and suppose it to have been equivalent to a duplication of the ordinary *khirāj*, we may make a rough guess at the population. It may have been somewhere about five millions of Muslims and twenty-five millions of Hindus, or, say, thirty millions in all.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONQUEST BY BÁBAR, AND FOUNDATION OF THE
MUGHOL EMPIRE, A.D. 1526-56.

IN the last chapter we saw how the dwindled empire had seemed to revive under Bahlol Lodi and his successors. It was now (A.D. 1526) to undergo an assault from northern neighbours who—though still called “Mughols” by the people of India—were no longer savage Tartars, but polite, handsome sons of Islám, possessed of most of the resources of civilisation, as then understood. Contemporary writings and drawings show Bábar and his followers as a jovial crew of men-at-arms, with fair and ruddy complexions, and unveiled wives; delighting in brocaded garments and gilded armour, using artillery in war, loving to carouse, in the intervals of peace, by the banks of streams or in shady gardens. Over Bábar’s favourite fountain near Kábul was inscribed a quatrain which has been thus rendered into English :

Bright spring blooms here from day to day ;
Young girls stand by, old wine to pour :
Enjoy then, Bábar, while you may ;
Life, once enjoyed, returns no more.

The Mongolian barbarian of the frosty steppes

in a few generations, developed a culture little, if at all, inferior to that of Chaucer and Boccaccio; with no resemblance to those who had remained in High Asia but a common foundation of Turki speech, and a common tradition of Japhetic origin.

By taking note of this happy combination of Saracenic culture and Tartar freedom we obtain the clue to a rather difficult problem. The recorded genealogies of Taimur and Bábar, in the respective autobiographies of those princes, show that they did not disdain a Mongolian ancestry, and the ascription remains in the appellation which is still popularly borne by the dynasty that they founded in India. Yet we find that, while Taimur asserted his descent from the Mongolian leader, Changiz Khán, his own descendant Bábar pours scorn upon "the Mughols," and states in his *Memoirs* that "they have uniformly been the authors of every kind of mischief and devastation." It is, as Mr. Erskine has observed, "one of the strangest caprices of fortune that the empire which Bábar founded in India should have taken its name from a race which he detested." The explanation is that the word "Mughol" had acquired a dyslogistic sense from the crimes against mankind committed by Changiz and his immediate descendants. The wild tribes by whom it was borne had laid waste Muhammadan realms and cities—Turkestán, Bukhára, and Samarcand—and ended by overthrowing the Muslim Papacy at Baghdád. Under Akbar, when the empire had become peaceful, the word began to regain its prestige. So, in Europe, the word "Goth," in some places the synonym of destructive ignorance, became in Spain the mark of a nobleman, a conqueror or his descendant. Probably in our own country the word "Norman" has had a similar career of good and evil repute. Bábar

always calls his people "Turks," a word which he would not have used without some reason.

There was, no doubt, in Central Asia, a tribe which at one time called itself "Turkish" in opposition to the Mongols. The general consent of tradition seems to imply that all the Turanian tribes are of Turkish origin. But there was a separation, after which the Seljukian and Osmánli branches settled westward, and appropriated the name of Turk, while the other branch became known as "Mughols of Changiz," or ultimately, "of Chaghtai," the most distinguished of Changiz's sons. There is, however, strong indication of a common origin in the nature of their speech. The language of Eastern Turkestan (the Mughol country) is still structurally identical with the European Turkish, although the latter has greatly modified its vocabulary. After the settlement in Turkestan came the adoption of intermarriage with Tájik women, even as the western Turks intermarried with the Aryan females in *their* new settlements. We may conclude that by this process the Mughols developed, and took the ethnic title of "Turks" in imitation of their predecessors. It will be sufficient to terminate an inquiry which is curious, if not very important, with the statement of an Indian historian in the time of Aurangzeb. Kháfi Khán writes :—

"Although from the time of Akbar the word 'Mughol' has been applied to the Turks and Tájiks of Persia, to such an extent that even the Sáyyids of Khorasán were called 'Mughols,' yet in reality the word is the proper term for those Turks who belong to the house of Mughol Khán, and it was in this sense that it was used in the time of the earlier kings of Dehli. The pedigree of the descendants of Mughol

Khán reaches down through Changiz to the Amīr Taimur."

These genealogies, be it observed, are the only ones that are forthcoming, and, if they show nothing else, show, at least, that Bábar was esteemed a pure Mughol for all his scorn. We may, however, fairly admit that he had been born into the social condition of a "Turk," as he notoriously spoke and wrote the Turkish language. That indeed continued to be the familiar speech of his family for many generations, as will be noticed farther on. It is so, still, I believe, at the Court of Persia.

Of his mother's father an interesting picture has been preserved. "I had heard," said a holy man sent to this chief when he held sway in Mugholistán, "that Yunis Khán was a Mughol, so concluded that he was beardless, with the rude habits of the desert. But I found a handsome man, with a fine bushy beard, of elegant address, most agreeable and refined words and ways, such as are seldom to be met with even in the most polished society." The wife of this chief was a woman of high spirit and resolution. Being taken captive, she, with the aid of her women, cut* to pieces a new bridegroom whom it was sought to force upon her. Bábar's father—Umr Shekh Mirza—was their favourite kinsman, and they gave him their second daughter for a wife. Umr Shekh Mirza himself was fourth in descent from Amir Taimur (Tamerlane), but he had inherited but a small share of that mighty conqueror's possessions. Only in the blood and traditions of his wife's family, and in his own, remained the germ of empire that was to bear such fruit in the character and fortunes of their son.

Mirza Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Bábar was the grandson of Taimur's grandson; and his mother, as we have

seen, was of the same clan, being lineally descended on the father's side from Changiz Khán. His father retained no part of the family territories, except the small principality of Farghána—subsequently known as Kokand—on the Upper Jaxartes. It is now a Russian province, with an area of 28,100 square miles, and the population is under a million. Of its statistics in Bábar's time we have no record. He was born in the province on the 15th of February 1483, and succeeded to the government, on his father's death, before he was twelve years old. For the next few years he lived in the forcing atmosphere of strife, having to defend his poor but pleasant heritage against the brothers of both his parents. In 1497 he took the offensive, turned the tables on his unnatural uncles, overran the district of Samarcand and temporarily occupied the capital. But he soon encountered a more serious opposition. Shai-báni Khán, the able leader of the Uzbeks (another mixed race) was in all respects more than a match for the youthful Chaghtai, who was at length driven, not only from his recent conquests, but from his inherited province. In his twenty-third year he left the woods and streams, the orchards and fountains of his loved Farghána, and never saw them again.

His first movement was on Bokhára, where he made but a short stand, passing on to Kábul where the country had fallen away from the house of Chaghtai and had come into the possession of the Afghán tribe of Turks who bore rule in Khorásán. Shai-báni quickly closed the Bukhára tracts behind him, and Bábar had no option but to accept ruin or to overthrow the Afgháns. He succeeded in the latter, and obtained the provinces of Kábul, Badakshán and Kandahár about 1504. Here for many years he remained, with his

head-quarters at Kábul itself, putting down rebellions in his own family, and mutinies among his men. His old enemies the Uzbegs worried him to the westward, and for a time he lost Kandahár, a province that always seems to hang but loosely to the Afghán State. After the death of Shaibáni in 1510, the Uzbegs became less dangerous, but were still strong enough to keep him within his northern frontier of the Hindu Kush. In 1522 he recovered Kandahár, and two years later invaded the Punjáb. He was at first either unwilling or unable to move farther in the direction of India. And in the meanwhile Ibráhim Lodi, the Sultán of Agra and Dehli, prepared a vast array to meet him.

The state of the peninsula at the time has been briefly described by Bábar himself, and by filling in his outline a little, and curtailing his redundancies, we may form a picture that will suffice for our present purpose.

The nominal power of Hindustan was at Dehli, under Sultán Ibráhim Hosain Lodi ; but the federal bond was nearly worn to a thread by the ill-temper of the Sultán and the turbulence of the various Afghán chiefs. The time was remarkable for a great and general abundance of produce, and a consequent appreciation of bullion. "Gold and silver," says the chronicler Abdulla, "were only procurable with the greatest difficulty. A horse-man's pay rose to the rate of twenty to thirty *tankas* per mensem." Ibráhim, though still young, was avaricious and absorbed in the accumulation of treasure. By this he intensified the distress and consequent discontent. An insurrection broke out in Bahár ; Daulat Khán, the governor of Lahore, under personal pique, by-and-bye surrendered the Punjáb to Bábar. Guzarát had become independent under a native Muslim dynasty, whose

head was fighting with the Rána of Udaipur for the possession of Málwa. Nasrat Sháh was independent in Bengal, with his capital at Gaur, in Málda, where ruins covering thirty square miles still attest the splendour of the kingdom. In the Deccan, also, three Muhammadan powers were by this time established. The ruler of Udaipur mentioned above was the famous Rána Sanka—the Sang Rám of Tod—of whom we shall hear more hereafter. There were also small Hindu principalities in Marwar, Jesalmir, and several places to the south, Berár, Bidar, Tanjore, Travancore, Calicut and elsewhere, with which we have no concern. The Hindu principalities paid little or no tribute, the revenue of the remaining provinces was estimated at fifty-two *krors* (*q.d.* of copper *tankas*, or double *dáms* ?), £4,212,000 according to Erskine.

From the time of his first settlement in Kábul Bábar had begun to meditate the conquest of India. “Sometimes,” as he tells us in his frank autobiography, “from the misconduct of my Amirs, and their dislike of the project, sometimes from the cabals and opposition of my brothers, I was prevented from prosecuting the expedition.” He was in the forty-fourth year of his age when (these obstacles being overcome) he was enabled, by the treachery of the Afghán governor of Lahore, to obtain possession of the Punjáb, and to make that province a base for his attack upon the Empire. This was about the end of the year 1525.

The first advance was made by an Afghán deserter named Alim Khán, who invested Dehli with 40,000 horse. Here he was attacked by Sultán Ibráhim and routed with much slaughter; the exact scene of the fight appears to have been at Hodul, a few miles south of the city. Meanwhile Bábar broke up from Karnál,

where he had been encamped, and the Sultán advanced to meet him. It was a Thursday; the nobles of Hindustán were all arrayed in their bravest clothing and accoutrements, the embroidered tents and canopies made a field of cloth of gold. The day, on their side, was spent in revel and rejoicing. Very different was the cheer of the weary invaders who had marched so far from their homes. "Many of the troops," writes the hero, "were in great tremor and alarm. Trepidation and fear are always unbecoming; whatever the Almighty has decreed from eternity cannot be reversed. At the same time I cannot greatly blame them; they had some reason for anxiety, for in two or three months they had travelled from their native land, and were now to engage in arms a nation of whom they knew nothing. The opposing force was estimated at 100,000 men, with a thousand elephants. The Emperor possessed the accumulated resources of his father and grandfather; he might have engaged mercenaries to a large extent. But he was miserly and inexperienced, negligent in his movements, marching without order, halting without plan, and giving battle without forethought."

Bábar, on the other hand, took all the precautions that the military art, as then known, suggested. He passed the Thursday under the walls of Pánipat, on which town his right rested. His front was protected by batteries of artillery, fortified by a contrivance which seems to have consisted of breast-works of gun-carriages, connected and protected by ropes of raw hide. Behind these were ranged the matchlock-men. On his left he made an entrenchment, which he strengthened with *abattis*. During the night Bábar's eldest son, Humaiun, returned from a reconnaissance, bringing back with him the advanced guard, which had been engaged somewhat

aimlessly with that of the enemy. At day-break of Friday, April 20th, 1526, the enemy was seen coming up in order of battle. The Mughols formed in three divisions, two to engage, and the third—the unsuccessful combatants of the night—to guard the camp and act as a reserve. But ere long, the strength of the enemy's attack being checked by the stockade and diverted towards the right of the Mughols, the reserve was ordered up in support. At the same time a body who had been placed upon the Mughol left outflanked the dense array of the Hindustánis, and fell upon their rear with flights of arrows. The swivels from the front batteries and the culverins on the left centre were playing on the masses of the enemy, while the Mughol right wing had now also outflanked him and harassed him with archery. Thus goaded, crowded, and unwilling to storm the camp, the Hindustánis fell into confusion. Ibráhim was on horseback with his immediate followers in the midst of the panic. A courtier named Mahmud urged him to flight; but the Sultán, with proper spirit, replied that his friends and companions had fallen round him till his horse was dyed to the chest in their blood. His cause was lost; let him, too, die, like a soldier and a king. With these words he dashed into the *mêlée* at the head of five thousand men, and after the battle they were all found lying slain in one spot. The whole loss of the Hindustánis is estimated by Bábar at over fifteen thousand men, amongst whom was Rája Bikram Ajit, the Hindu Prince of Gwalior. What Bábar's own loss was he does not record. Many more of the natives were slaughtered during the pursuit, and a number made prisoners. Advanced parties were sent on to occupy Dehli and Agra; and the main body followed almost immediately. On arriving at Dehli, Bábar

devoted himself to sight-seeing ; and inspected many of the buildings, which still, after the lapse of nearly four centuries, continue to attract the curious visitor.

On the Friday three weeks from the battle Bábar entered Agra. He found Humaiun engaged in making friends. The family of the late Rája of Gwalior (who had been turned out by the Afgháns and were living there in exile) had made valuable offerings, among them the famous *Koh-i-Nur* diamond. Bábar caused them to be protected. He also made provision for the mother of the late Sultán Ibráhim and her household.* He and his Mughols, however, found themselves at first anything but popular with the people ; and in a short time the neighbourhood was in open rebellion, from Rohilkand to Alwar. Kanauj was in the hands of the Afgháns—implying the whole of the eastern part of the Duáb from Etáwa to Jaunpur. The ills of climate were not wanting : “ When I reached Agra the hot weather had begun,” he writes ; “ the inhabitants had fled in terror, so that forage for the horses and food for ourselves were alike wanting. The villagers took to rebellion and robbery. The roads became impassible.” The frightful hot wind of the region was at its height, and the foreign troops, accustomed to a mountain climate, were almost decimated by heat-apoplexy. Many of the officers began to murmur and talk of return to Kábul, but Bábar stopped the movement by a manly expostulation. All consented to remain but one chief, named Khwájá Kalán, who was permitted to return with the prize to Kábul.

To add to all this trouble, Rána Sanka, the hero of Udaipur, who had affected friendliness so long as the Afgháns ruled at Agra and Bábar was at a distance, now appeared in the field and captured a fort which was

held by a friendly chief. Bábar was unable to assist, and the Rāna slowly advanced towards Agra. The enthusiastic Tod thus describes this champion of Rájpután :—

“Sanga Rāna was of middle stature, but of great muscular strength ; fair in complexion, with unusually large eyes, which seem to be peculiar to his descendants. He exhibited at his death but the fragments of a warrior ; one eye was lost in a broil with his brother, an arm in action with the Lodi King of Dehli ; and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken by a cannon-ball . . . while he counted eighty wounds, from the sword or lance, on other parts of his body.”

Such was the shattered warrior who, in the second year of the conquest, advanced to contest with the Mughols the possession of the land of Hind. In their mountain fastnesses the chiefs of his race had preserved their independence. But their traditions regarded the people of the northern mountains as the hereditary foes of the Aryan races, and as their destined supplanters in Hindustán. Rāna Sanka defied the augury, and formed a confederacy of the Rájputs to strike a blow for empire. The year 1526 wore away in minor operations. Humaiun conducted a successful campaign in Bahár, occupying Jaunpur. Bábar was put in possession of the fort of Gwalior. Having thus swept his immediate field of action clear of Muslim rivals, Bábar assembled all his available forces, and, in the month of October, marched south-west from Agra to relieve Biána, which was threatened by the Rájput army.

By comparison of Bábar's narrative with that of Tod, the historian of the Rájputs, we find that some time was now wasted in negotiation. The Mughol army was encamped at Sikri, about half-way between Agra and

Biána ; and Sanka had long been in the habit of corresponding with Bábar, whom, as already mentioned, it had been his interest to conciliate as long as their common foes, the Lodis, were in possession of the empire. Whether or no Bábar still hoped to preserve friendly relations with him, and through him with the Rájputs, correspondence appears to have been still proceeding when the accidents of proximity brought it to a sudden end. One morning a young and zealous Mughol officer named Aziz, being in temporary command of the advanced guard, precipitated events by going within ten miles of the Rájput camp at the head of fifteen hundred horse. The enemy's pickets gave the alarm, and a large body of his cavalry attacked Aziz. Confusion ensued ; a yak-tail standard was taken, and many Mughols were made prisoners ; Bábar hurried reinforcements to the front. The retreat was covered by a superior officer named Muhammad Ali Jang, Bábar in person bringing up some guns in further support.

Bábar was now seriously anxious. As at Pánipat, he entrenched his army and protected his artillery. At the same time he bethought him of his sins, and resolved to abjure wine. The whole of the plate used in drinking festivities was ordered up, everything was hammered to pieces, the fragments were distributed among the needy. This public act by no means added to the spirits of the troops ; on the contrary, despondency and desertion became common, and Bábar found himself compelled to adopt the most solemn means of appealing to the zeal of his followers, and swore them on the Koran to conquer or to die upon the field. At the same time he, for the first time in his life, allowed his beard to grow on the chin.

Thus wore away the pleasant cold season of those

regions. On the first day of the Persian year—all Bábar's civilisation was borrowed from Persia—active steps were adopted. It was Tuesday, the 12th March, 1527, when the adventurers, finding the Hindus hanging back, resolved to assume the offensive. The camp was broken up, and an advance made to Kánhwa, a march nearer to Biána. Here, once more, the guns were ranged in front, the musketeers being behind them, and the cavalry upon either flank. Some further skirmishing took place, and a last attempt at negotiation; and then, on Saturday the 16th, Bábar attacked in person at the head of his cavalry, having by that time arrived within four miles of the enemy's camp. The danger, as so often happens, melted on being faced; the Hindus were paralysed by the fire of the guns to which they had nothing to oppose, and by the weight of the men-at-arms mounted on Turkmán and Afghán horses, by whom—according to Bábar's usual tactics—they were enveloped on flank and rear. They broke, after a fierce struggle which lasted all the day; many of their chiefs and leaders fell; a great number of prisoners were taken; the doughty Sanka saved himself by flight. The pursuit, however, was inefficient, and Bábar takes great blame to himself for not having conducted it in person. A pyramid of the enemy's skulls, in the usual Turkmán fashion, commemorated the fight.

Among the chiefs who had fallen on the side of the Hindus had been Hassan Khán, who had succeeded to the government of Mewát, over which his family had held a quasi-independent sway for nearly two centuries. The country was to the south-west of Dehli, a group of confused hills about Rewári and Alwar. It is not clear what were its precise limits, but it must have been of considerable extent. since Bábar says that the re-

venue was over three *krors*, meaning apparently about two hundred and forty thousand pounds of our money—more than the whole land-revenue of the province of Agra as given in his *Memoirs*. At this period we are told that the usual capital was Tijára; but Alwar was one of the chief fortified towns, and at that moment the seat of Government. Hassan Khán's son submitted, and was pardoned with an assignment of land. Tijára was conferred upon one of the Turkish nobles, and Alwar on another.

Having made these arrangements, Bábar advanced into Rájpután, bent upon striking a final blow at the Rána of Udaipur, the redoubted Sanka. But a very strong place barred the road—Chandairi, which had fallen into Sanka's hands towards the end of the Lodi dynasty, and was now held for the Rána by one of his men named Medini Rao, with a garrison of over four thousand Rájputs, "Pagans" Bábar calls them; with him the Hindus are always "Pagans," the native Muslims "Afgháns," and his own people "Turks." His own officers he designates by the Turkish title of "Becs," using the generic Persian title "Amir" for all officers, whether his own, belonging to the native Muslims, or Hindus. What he was himself it might be difficult to say. His secretary, Shekh Zain, calls him "The Khakán," an old Tartar title. His position was something between that of Dacoit, or leader of bandits, and that of Emperor of Hindustan, which he, *de facto*, may be said to have attained at the time of his death, some three years later on.

He was now, in the latter part of the year 1527 A.D., approaching Chandairi. But the approach was through a difficult country. He had to cut down the woods, and to make a road for his guns and wagons as he pro-

ceeded. It took him six weeks to reach Chandairi. He found it a place of some strength. The town was fortified, the walls running along the slope of a hill, on whose summit stood the fort or inner citadel. The artillery of the assailants was placed on an opposite mound, upon ground prepared for the purpose. Scaling-ladders and screens having been prepared, the place was summoned, but Medini Ráo refused to surrender. In a week's time all was ready, when suddenly a letter arrived from the eastward, announcing that the Turkish army had been defeated, driven out of Lucknow, and forced to fall back upon Kanauj. Bábar seems to have kept the news to himself for the time, and pressed on the assault. By night-time his men had stormed the town, and driven the garrison into the citadel. Next morning, having examined the locality, he found that there was one comparatively easy access to the gate by a path or covered way, leading down to the water that ran at the foot of the hill. Here, therefore, he placed his body-guard and the centre of his line, and at once commenced a simultaneous attack on all sides, of which that by the covered way was to be the most serious. The Rájputs made a stout defence; but a Beg named Sháham Nur found a bastion of the citadel joining on to a part of the town wall, and by this he effected an entry. The force of the garrison posted at the covered way was driven in, and other parts of the walls were scaled. Then followed the horrible heroism habitual to a conquered Hindu garrison of those days. The defenders, having slain their own women and children, stripped themselves to the skin, and rushing out, sword in hand, renewed the fight. But the sally was in vain; the steady valour of the disciplined Mughols—to give them their proper name—prevailed. The survivors of

the garrison fell on one another in Medini's quarters ; ere the day declined the whole place was in the conqueror's hands.

Raising his customary pyramid of heads, Bábar proceeded to call a council of his Begs. Chandairi was made over to Ahmad Sháh, the son of the Afghán from whom Sanka had taken it. News came that Sanka was dead ; and Bábar, thinking the Afgháns of the east his more pressing danger, resolved, with the acquiescence of his council, on marching against them before taking further measures against the Rájputs.

Chandairi had fallen on a Thursday. On the Sunday following the army was in motion. Crossing the Jumna at Kinár, just below the confluence of the Chambal, he sent on a party of light troops to procure intelligence, and marched the main army with all possible despatch towards Kanauj. When within a short distance of that place he met his scouts, who brought information that the enemy was posted on the left bank of the Ganges, just below Kanauj, prepared to contest the passage of the river.

Bábar adopted the measures of a good officer. Laying hands on all procurable boats, he found himself in possession of a number sufficient to throw a sort of pontoon-bridge over the stream. It was now about the end of winter—a period when the rivers in Upper India, deriving their supply from the Himalayan snow, are at their least width and volume, a circumstance which must have facilitated Bábar's operations. Planting a breastwork up-stream, which he filled with matchlock-men, and placing a heavy gun upon an island below, he protected his men while they were at work. In less than a fortnight the bridge was completed, and on the third day after (a Friday) the army effected the passage

and established itself on the left bank, though stoutly resisted by the enemy. Bábar admits that, having attained this measure of success, he ought to have at once gone on; but he sacrificed his plans to a puerile crotchet. For some unintelligible reason, he resolved to fight on Sunday, thereby losing a day. The enemy profited by the delay to decamp, and Bábar had to be content with occupying Lucknow and the surrounding country.

From this expedition Bábar returned to Agra, whence he went on a visit to Gwalior. While there he received a messenger from the son of Rána Sanka, whose speedy submission showed the wisdom of the determination to deal vigorously with the Afgháns and the prestige that had been gained by the success of that campaign.

In the beginning of 1529 more bad news came from the eastward, and once more the indefatigable leader, riding in one day from Gwalior to Agra, put himself at the head of his army. It is to be noticed that the Pathán chief, Sher Khán—soon to become so famous—had absconded from Bábar's Court, and about this time appeared in the ranks of the native Muslim insurgents, whom he was afterwards to lead to temporary triumph. For the time, however, the Mughol star continued to ascend; Bábar marched down the Duáb, raised the siege of Chunár by the mere alarm of his approach, and reached Gházipur by forced marches. Here he opened negotiations with the Musalmán King of Bengal; and, on these failing, gave him a sound chastisement after a long engagement, in which the Bengalis appear to have fought with their backs to a river, and supported by a fleet of boats. The story is confused and of no great importance, for Bengal was left unmolested.

Early in September 1529, Bábar returned to Agra, and his charming autobiography comes to an abrupt end. It may be that his health broke down, and that the rest at last realised left him without spirit to continue the work of writing. He was now truly Emperor, and of a vast though incoherent empire, extending from Badakshán and Kunduz, beyond the Hindu Kush range, including all Afghanistan, the Punjab, Hindustan, Rájpután, and Bahár. On the 26th December 1530 he died peacefully at Agra, in the fiftieth year of his age, having nominated as his successor his eldest son, Hamaiun, then in his twenty-second year. "Do not slay your brothers," he said at their last interview, "but watch them with care." He was buried in the beautiful garden on the left bank of the river, just above the city of Agra, known in modern times as "The Rámbágh," but his remains were, in after years, removed to Kábul, near which city his tomb is still to be seen. [For Burnes' description of the tomb and its site, *vide* Erskine, vol. i. p. 517.]

• Judged by his own record, Bábar was amiable, social, enduring of privation and labour; yet prone to pleasure, with small care for moral obligations, and but little taste for the civil duties of a ruler. No doubt has ever been thrown on the *Memoirs*—the *Wakiát*, or *Tuzak*—of Bábar. Originally written in Chaghtai Turkish, they were translated into Persian by a member of the family in the reign of the author's grandson, the Emperor Akbar. They have been translated into French, in modern days, by M. Pavet de Courteille; an English translation of the Persian version has been made by the late Mr. W. Erskine, and copious extracts are given in the fourth volume of Dowson. The book is one that can never fail to please; being no less than "Con-

fessions" of a mediæval adventurer who combined qualities not often found together, and whose speech is candid, while his observation is direct and genuine. Although professing Islám, Bábar is no bigot; and, instead of "sending infidels to hell," is ready enough to negotiate with the *Rájs* and *Ránas*, and maintain them in dignity and usefulness. His opinion of the Hindus and their land was, however, decidedly and trenchantly unfavourable.

"Hindustan," says the conqueror, "is a country that has but little to recommend it. The inhabitants are not good-looking; they have no idea of the pleasures of society, they have no genius or generalising talent, neither polish of manner, amiability, or sympathetic feeling, neither ingenuity or mechanical invention, nor knowledge or skill in architecture; they have no decent houses, good fruit, ice or cold water; their markets are ill-supplied; they have neither public baths nor colleges; neither candles nor candlesticks. If you want to read or write by night, you must have a filthy, half-naked fellow, standing over you all the time with a flaring torch."

This extract is not only interesting as a description—perhaps a little pessimistic—of the state of Hindustan in Bábar's time, but as showing the comparatively high standard of his own notions of civilisation. In the copy of the Persian translation of the *Memoirs* which belonged to the Emperor Sháh Jahán, there are about one hundred coloured drawings, which strongly confirm this estimate. The portrait of the author and hero, in which the likeness is preserved throughout, is that of a thoughtful gentleman, with pale oval face and small pointed black moustache, not unlike a Russian officer of Hussars of our own times.

The weaknesses of his administration have been pointed out by a very able contemporary. It has been mentioned that an Indian Muslim, named Sher Khán, had been at one time in the suite of Bábar, whom he left during the Chanderi campaign to take part in the rebellion of his countrymen in Bahár. He justified himself in these words: "If luck and fortune favour me I will expel the Mughols from India; for they are not our superiors in battle or in single combat; but we Afgháns have let the Empire slip through our fingers by our own dissensions. Since I have been among the Mughols and observed their conduct, I have seen that they lack order and discipline. And their leaders, from pride of birth and station, neglect the superintendence of administration, and leave affairs in the hands of officials in whom they blindly trust. These men act on corrupt motives in every case, whether it be a soldier's, a cultivator's, or a refractory zemindar's. From lust of gain they make no distinction between friend and foe."

The shrewd observer who made this diagnosis was now in something like the position occupied by Robert Bruce in Britain at the death of Edward Longshanks. The heir of Bábar was Humaiun, a prince not destitute of chivalric qualities, but idle and dissipated, whose Bannockburn was awaiting him. For the first few years of his reign he conducted tedious and ultimately unsuccessful campaigns, in Gujarát and Málwa; and in the intervals devoted attention to building a new fort in a part of Firoz Sháh's city near Delhi, to which he gave the name of Dinpana. Meanwhile the Afgháns were fighting among themselves in hé and Bengál. In these quarters Sultán Mahmud, the son of the deceased Ibráhim Lodi, was still paramount, and,

being acknowledged by the majority of the Afgháns as their ruler, was able to command for a time the allegiance of Sher Khán. With their united forces they occupied Jaunpur. This circumstance drew Humáюн into the field from which he was to retire, after a struggle of three years, worsted and discomfited. It may, therefore, be taken as the occasion of saying a few words of the remarkable man to whom he was opposed, the facts in regard to whom, having been recorded after his death and the downfall of his short-lived dynasty, may be regarded as free from exaggeration and Oriental flattery.

Sher Sháh was originally named Farid : he was the grandson of an immigrant (of the Sur tribe) who came from the Afghán province of Roh—on the spurs of the Sulaiman range—the same from which the “ Rohillas ” afterwards got their name. The date of his birth is not to be found, but it must have taken place in the last ten or fifteen years of the fifteenth century. He was sent to Jaunpur for his education, and gave proof of early ability. While yet young he obtained charge of a district in Bahár. Here he displayed the originality of an earnest reformer, and laid the foundation of the system which was to become so great under Akbar. The union of humanity with energy is most exceptional in Asiatic statesmen, for their conduct is usually the result of impulse, and is determined by the prevailing turn of individual character. All that Sher Khán, or Sháh, is known to have done shows reflection and siple. On taking charge of his first district he the officials and the heads of the community. he said that he had set his heart on the he tract, so that their own interests would concerned in that object as his reputation.

could be. In the last resource success depended on the humble peasantry, who notoriously suffered from the corruption and oppression of those in authority. He had therefore determined on assessing the revenue on the measured area of the land, rewarding the collecting officials by a commission. The payment might be in cash or in kind, at the cultivator's pleasure.

"I accordingly warn you," he said to the officials, "that, if the people complain that you take more than what is so fixed, I shall myself take part in the audit and shall debit the excess to you." Then, turning to the cultivating headmen, he added that the revenue would be collected with the utmost strictness; but so long as they paid a lenient assessment with punctuality, they might always come to him with their complaints; he would allow none to oppress them.

Family troubles driving him from home, he went to Dehli and Agra in search of employment and patronage. Shortly before Bábar's conquest he got an extended charge in Bahár and it was about this time that he acquired the title of "Sher Khán." In the earlier part of Bábar's career, Sher Khán supported the Lodi cause in the eastern provinces; but in 1528 he joined the Mughol camp. As we have already seen, he formed an unfavourable opinion of the character and habits of the adventurers. Perceiving his aspiring and energetic character, Bábar meditated his arrest; but the wary Afghán anticipated this, withdrawing from the camp during the Chanderi campaign. After various wars and intrigues, he espoused the cause of Sultán Mahmud about the end of the year 1535, while Humaiun was engaged in Gujarát. Humaiun entertained thoughts of attacking him, but was glad to change his mind. Amusing the Emperor with insincere

negotiations, the politic Afghán got possession of Chunár, and the Emperor turned once more to his efforts in the west. Sher Khán having leisure to work out his own plans soon got rid of Sultán Mahmud, who retired to Gaur in Bengal. Sher Khán persuaded the Mughol officers in Bahár of his loyalty, and for some time was left unmolested. At length (1537) Humaiun, having been entirely unsuccessful in Gujarát and Málwa, resolved to move down east and look into matters there for himself. Chunár, a strong place on the Ganges, resisting him, was taken on the 8th January 1538. The circumstances of the siege are related with amusing detail by the equerry, Jauhar (*vide* Dowson, p. 138 ff.). The time occupied must have been considerable, for we are told that the general in command occupied himself for no less than six months in constructing a floating battery so as to complete on the water side the investment that had begun by land. The garrison ultimately capitulated, and, much to Humaiun's displeasure, were treated with severity; but the offending commander was shortly after poisoned by some of his own officers whom he had offended.

While the Mughol army was thus employed, an officer of Sher Khán's had taken Gaur, the capital of Bengal. At the same time that chief himself got possession of Rohtás in the hilly country of Bahár, and, congratulated himself on having, in these two places, gained more than he had lost in Chunár. He then turned towards the pursuing Emperor, who was no match for him in age or experience, and whom he deluded by false shows of submission. Humaiun agreed to return to Agra, leaving Bahár and Bengal as tributary provinces in the hands of Sher Khán. But the Emperor was as quickly diverted from this purpose

by the arguments of a fresh negotiator in the person of the Lodi Prince, Mahmud, who shook his faith in Sher Khán, and persuaded him to march upon Bengal. Sher Khán was equal to the occasion, and was favoured by fortune, as is the way with the bold. Mahmud died at this juncture; the Emperor was caught in a trap between Patna and Monghyr, where he lost his baggage, carriage, tents, and all the men in charge, and was blockaded for a month; after which, although he occupied Gaur at last, it was a barren triumph, from which he only gained fresh trouble after wasting four months there in luxurious repose.

About the end of the year 1538 news reached Humaiun, at Gaur, that trouble had arisen at Agra which required his presence there. Meanwhile, Sher Khán, having gained the unanimous confidence of the too-often divided Afgháns, had collected a compact force with which he resolved to attack the unfortunate Mughol monarch. Once more terms were offered, this time by the Emperor; but Sher Khán, after allowing the Imperialists to pass by him, resolved, by the advice of a clerical counsellor, on breaking the truce, and, suddenly falling upon the Mughol camp at a place called Chaunsa, where the Karmanása falls into the Ganges, drove them off in the direction of Agra. The Emperor and his staff fled with such precipitation that their families fell into the enemy's hands. The Empress and other ladies were treated with all courtesy, and the conqueror was proclaimed King by the title of "Sher Sháh, Sultán i-Adili" ("Just Lord").

In April 1540 Humaiun, having patched up the revolt at Agra, returned to the eastward. The two armies met at Kanauj, on the opposite banks of the Ganges, very low at that season of the year. Then took place

the last negotiation. Sher Sháh—as he was now called—sent a herald to the Emperor, to propose, not peace, but terms of combat. If His Majesty preferred he would cross first, and if not, he would await His Majesty's pleasure where he was. The Emperor replied scornfully that if "Sher Khán" would but make room, he would cross and give him battle. The Afghán chief had thus gained his end—that is, his enemy would fight with a river behind. Retiring about five miles, he, with every appearance of courtesy, permitted the Imperialists to pass the river. When the passage was complete, he reconnoitred, and entrenched his army on the enemy's front. But the Mughols were weakened by desertions and disheartened: "Let us go," they cried (according to the testimony of one who was with them), "and rest in our own homes."

Skirmishes took place day by day, till the heat grew to a dreadful height, and the Ganges, swollen by the melting of the snow, began to run with a full current behind the Mughols. It was past the middle of May, and the early rains set in with unusual violence, so as to flood their camp, which lay on the river meadows. On the morning of the 17th the Mughol army moved out, resolved to take higher ground, if they had to fight for it. In the matter of fighting the Afgháns were ready to indulge them. Leaving their entrenchments they moved out in a long line, the Sháh himself leading the centre. On the Mughol centre rode the Emperor, but he was ill-supported. Twenty-seven chiefs entitled to *tughs* (*yak* or horse-tail standards), who led the left of the Imperial line, concealed those insignia from fear of attracting the enemy. "From this," says Haider Mirza who had a command among them, "from this conduct of the officers may be formed some notion

of the courage of the men." Sher Sháh's force was estimated by this observer at no more than 15,000 horse, while the Imperialists were 40,000 strong, with abundant artillery. But each chief was surrounded by pampered pages and light-armed followers who were absurdly placed in the front ; these were at once routed, and in their rout hampered the advance of the men-at-arms of their side. " Before the enemy had discharged an arrow, we were virtually defeated, not a man being wounded, either friend or foe. Not a gun was fired." The steel-clad horsemen clattered into the mud, and plunged into the brimming stream ; and the only deaths that happened were when they were drowned. Humaiun was led to the river by an unknown cavalier in black, who seized the bridle-rein. Here he found an elephant on which he got across, being helped out on the other side by some by-standers. Hurrying to Agra, he made but a short halt there ; his mind was disturbed, he spoke of supernatural beings who had appeared on the Afghán side. Arrived at Lahore he met his brothers ; but one of them, Kámran—who had deserted before the battle of Kanauj—was determined to hold the Punjáb and Kábul on his own account, and, the alarm of pursuit becoming urgent, the luckless Humaiun was fain to depart hurriedly to Sind.

We need not follow his wanderings. For nearly fifteen years he disappears from the history of India, and our only present concern with him is to inquire into the reasons of the revolution. The first and greatest is the character of his opponent. Sher Sháh was an extraordinary man, and to genius such as his all things are possible. The ingrained faults of the Pathán character are perfidy and disunion ; but as he was never perfidious—towards friends—he was able

to win confidence, and out of confidence to build union. On the other hand the Emperor was young, he had characteristic weaknesses, and laboured under the heavy disadvantage of having been born in the purple. His followers, too, were fine gentlemen, above all work except fighting, till at last they were unequal even to that. And the kingdom of Kábul, whence he might have expected to draw reinforcements of hardier men, was in the hands of the unfaithful Kámrán. So he was overthrown and driven out. After a series of toilsome and perilous wanderings—which are narrated with pathetic simplicity by his constant attendant Jaupar—he found an unquiet asylum with the Shia King of Persia, by whom he was forced to embrace his heretical creed. Meanwhile his successful rival built up anew the throne of Hindustan, which he finally ascended at Dehli on the 25th January 1542.

The whole of his brief administration—he must have been by this time a man of nearly sixty—was based on the principle of union. A devout Muslim, he never oppressed his Hindu subjects. The disputes of his own people he suppressed with all the energy of his nature. He laboured day and night, for he said, “It behoves the great to be always active.”

In the first hour after sunrise Sher Sháh performed his devotions, and then turned to the business of the day, beginning with a parade, after which he conversed with his officers and men. He then went over his accounts and gave audiences.

After two and a half hours of such work came breakfast, in the society of pious and learned men ; then more business. After the noon-day prayer he took a little rest ; on rising, he read a portion of Scripture and then fell to work once more. “He divided his territory into

hundreds, in each of which were local officers whose place it was to mediate between the people and the officers of the crown. Not content with the administrative side of social reform, he went beyond most Muslim rulers, and attempted a certain crude legislation. The nature of the attempts attributed to him shows that a critical moment was passing in mediæval India. His ordinances touched on almost all the primary parts of administration, and evince a real care for the people's welfare. Thus, if thefts or robberies could not be brought home to the actual offenders, the heads of the commune in whose borders the offence occurred were called on to satisfy the authorities that the offenders had not found harbour with them, and to trace them to another village. This may seem a rude method; but it has been used in later times, and has worked well in similar circumstances. Still more was such responsibility enforced where the crime had been complicated with bloodshed. Protective methods were not neglected; walled enclosures were provided along the roads for travellers to rest in at night, with their property secure about them. If any such died upon their journey, the property they left was taken care of till the heirs could be found. Customs were only levied twice on merchandise, once on the frontier, once in the market; bad economy, but preferable to the usual practice of taking toll at every possible opportunity. All these regulations were well calculated to protect a nascent system of inland traffic. Of the Sháh's system of land-revenue we have had a glimpse, and need only add that he continued, *qualis ab incepto*, the intelligent protector of the humble peasant on whom, as he said, the prosperity of an agricultural realm must ultimately depend. One great source of discontent and unthrift among Eastern culti-

vators is due to the exactions of officials on tour and of marching troops. To reduce this evil to a minimum the Sháh, on his progresses, inspected the wayside crops and placed mounted guards over them. When fields were wantonly injured he had been seen by eye-witnesses to take vengeance with his own hand ; the owners were immediately compensated. These things may serve to show that the rural population was still sparse, and the tillage dependent on a scanty supply of labour, necessitating care for the comfort and content of the peasantry. Even in marching through an enemy's country the people were not to be molested, "for," said the Sháh, "if we drive them away our conquests will be of little profit."

All this has an importance extending beyond the immediate time. After the Mughol restoration Sher Sháh's officials passed into Akbar's service ; the faults imputed by the Sháh to what he called "Mughol" administration—but which are common to all Turks—were prevented ; and this far-sighted man, even after his death and the subversion of his dynasty, remained the originator of all that was done by mediæval Indian rulers for the good of the people.

Especially did the Sháh watch and control his subordinates. Officials from his Court were strictly associated with local officers, and were compelled to pay for their own articles of consumption at full prices in open market. No officials were allowed to remain in the same place more than two years.

And so, for this brief space, "the land," as the Sháh himself boasted, "had peace from the borders of Oude to the Sutlej river." A royal highway ran from one point to the other, crossed by one from Agra to Burhānpur, on the limits of the Deccan ; and daily posts

carried letters from one end of each to the other. A third road ran from Agra across Rájpután, and a fourth connected the cities of Multán and Lahore. Lastly, the Sháh made a point of completing the new fort of Humaiun at Dehli, where he built a mosque that is still standing, the pride of the later Pathán school of architecture.

On the 22nd of May 1545 this marvellous man met the petty fortress and the dubious hánd from which no hero can count on immunity. He was besieging Kálinjar when he was struck by the splinter of a tumbril near which he was standing, and which was exploded by a shot from the ramparts. Taken into his tent, he lay for two days, conscious and thinking of his duty to the last. On being remonstrated with for giving way to low spirits, he said he had three or four regrets. He was sorry that he had not moved the tribesmen from the hills of Roh (mentioned above as the cradle of his family) to be a military colony in the Eastern Punjáb, and watch the attempts of the Mughols from the direction of Kábul; next, he ought to have destroyed Lahore, which was sure to be the base of the next invasion; thirdly, he meant to have provided facilities for Indian believers making the pilgrimage to Mecca; lastly, he should have built on the field of Pánipat a monument in honour of Sultán Ibráhim, and another to the Mughol lords who had perished in the wars.

Sher Sháh's second son succeeded him by the title of Islám Sháh, and reigned nine years. He was an able but arbitrary and cruel ruler, under whom the old contentiousness of the Patháns, or Indian Afgháns, revived; so that the whole period was consumed in fruitless intrigues and fights, and in the constant depression of the nobility without corresponding advantage to the

people. Islám Sháh, Sur, died in November 1554. His son was murdered by the brother of the deceased ruler's wife, the boy's maternal uncle ; fresh broils and rebellions followed. To such a depth of imbecility had the Pathán aristocracy fallen that the chief command of the army fell into the hands of a Hindu chandler, named Hemu.

In the meanwhile, Humaiun had become the father of a son, and had obtained the mastery of his refractory brothers. Kámrán, the most hostile, was taken, and, after some hesitation, deprived of his eye-sight, that precaution which, in this and other Oriental reigning families, was held to incapacitate for the throne. Humaiun descended from Kábul in 1555, and took possession of Lahore. He then justified the prevision of Sher Sháh by making that city his base, from which he sent forward a force towards the banks of the Sutlej. Early in the year this force was met by the Pathán forces at Sirhind, near Ambála, and at once advanced to the encounter. The Pathán leaders were in the very crisis of a quarrel, and failed to co-operate. Still, the force that remained available was considerable. The first battle took place at Maehiwára, on the banks of the Sutlej, where the Mughol advance was led by Bairám Khán, a Persian Turk, who had been captured and released by Sher Sháh in the sequel of the Kanauj campaign, and who had joined Humaiun during his wanderings. Crossing the river without being molested, or even perceived, by the negligent foe, Bairám caught them in a village, which was set on fire during the action. All the early part of the night Bairám plied them with arrows and fire-arms, galled by which, and by the conflagration, they retreated, leaving the Mughols in possession of the country on both banks of the Sutlej down to Hariána,

and leaving Dehli itself exposed. . A second battle followed, in which the youthful Akbar took part, and was rewarded by his father.

The Sur family had now but one stay left, the Hindu above-mentioned, who was at this time engaged in a campaign to the eastward. But enough had been done for the present, and the long-enduring Emperor contented himself with proceeding to Dehli. He made his entry on the 23rd July and at once began enjoying a brief repose, soon to become—had he but known it—sound and long enough.

Our last glimpse of Humaiun is in peaceful worship. Within sight of the mosque of Sher Sháh, in the Din-pana, is an octagon building, three stories high, whose walls still show traces of painting, and which is traditionally known as “the library of Humaiun.” Here, as the clear winter evening was gathering, the restored monarch was seated on the topmost terrace when he heard the muezzin’s call to prayer. Rising suddenly to turn towards the western sky he slipped in leaning his staff upon the polished floor. He fell upon the stair-head and was precipitated down the first flight of steps. The external hurt received must have been slight, for he walked home;* but he had been injured inwardly, and died, after a few days’ illness, on the 26th January 1556, in the forty-ninth year of his age. His character was thus described by a friend and kinsman:—“I have seen few possessed of so much natural talent and goodness; but having dissolute and sensual servants, and associates of mean and profligate character, he contracted bad habits, such as the^e excessive use of

* This accident has been differently related. The account in the text has been taken from the best authority and verified by personal observation on the spot.

opium ; and the work which devolved on him as a prince he left entirely to them. But he had many good qualities. In battle steady and brave, in conversation he was ingenious and lively, and at table full of wit. He was kind-hearted and liberal." Finally, it must be clear that if his woes were due to the faults of his character, they were made lighter by the cheerful and elastic spirit with which they were borne. This sustained him until, by the aid of able friends, he finally attained his ends and closed his career in the enjoyment of peace and the prospect of prosperity.

The story is not, indeed, all that could be wished. Amid the constant wars and intrigues in which it abounds we see less of the people even than is usual in mediæval annals. We can only conjecture a continual scene of discomfort and demoralisation, as they lay year after year in their squalid villages, exposed to the "drums and tramlings" of needy hosts of armed men, having no feeling in common but contempt and hatred for their blood and creed, and lust for their women and their goods.

[Full details of the lives and wars of Bábar and Humaiun will be found in the *History of India*, by W. Erskine (London 1854.) I have been restrained from imitating his fulness by want of space, as also by the advice and criticism contained in Mr. Elphinstone's letters to him published in Sir E. Colebrooke's excellent *Life of Mounstuart Elphinstone*. What facts have been deemed to demand record are believed to be essential to the subject, and have been carefully taken from the best sources—mostly contemporaneous.]

CHAPTER IV.

AKBAR : FIRST PERIOD. A.D. 1556-75.

ABOUT the time of Humaiun's death a last blow was being struck on behalf of the native Muslim power, the striker being a Hindu ; which fact is one among many indications that a fusion had begun to take place among the inhabitants of Hindustan, despite the serious separation caused by religion, and the indifference of the ruling powers of the State, even when not actively hostile. It has already been mentioned that, in the decline of the Pathán power, the command of the army had devolved upon Hemu, originally a retail tradesman. This man had found his way to Court probably on business affairs of a municipal character, and his many talents quickly attracted attention among an aristocracy more than usually careless and ignorant of such things. This was about A.D. 1533, and in the following year he undertook to put down the rising of a certain petty chief on conditions which he named. His proposals being accepted, he set off for Biána, the scene of the rising, with about four thousand horse and four elephants. The disdainful chief sent his stable-boys to meet him, and proceeded in another direction on a party of pleasure. Hemu flattered and encouraged the Mus-

lim officers of his party, and short work was made of the grooms and their followers. Then the rebel chief had to come in person, accompanied by a force of 8,000 horse and 3,000 foot, with fighting elephants and a train of guns. Nothing daunted by this preponderance of strength, Hemu persuaded his associates to make a night attack upon the camp of the enemy. This scheme—always delicate and often dangerous—was carried out with success; and Hemu appeared before the throne of his Pathán sovereign with the prize taken. He declined all reward and honour for himself, saying that the success was due to the sole merit of the soldiers. By this sort of conduct he overcame the prejudices due to his creed and nationality; military men and Muslims learnt to trust and obey a person who was neither one nor the other, but who knew how to conciliate their regard.

On the Mughol side, too, there was a leader of character and talent, Baikám Khán, whom we have already seen taken and pardoned by Sher Sháh after Kanauj, and returning with Humáun, for whom he recovered the Punjáb. He was by descent a Turkmán of the tribe of "The Black Sheep," the same which, in earlier days, had carried terror through Persia and as far as Baghdád. He appears to have been the son of a Persian adventurer who had joined the army of Bábar when that prince was on his way to Kábul in 1504. Having been temporarily separated from the army in the south of Kanauj (1540) Baikám found means of joining Humáun; and gained the favour of that facile monarch, whom he even dissuaded from a despondent project he had formed of going to Mecca and so losing all possibility of restoration to the throne of Hindustan. He thus became an essential factor in the foundation of the Mughol Empire. Rising with his master's rise, he

had now been for some time attached to the youthful Akbar, with the title of Atálik; and in that capacity was engaged with an army in pacifying the Punjáb. While thus employed Bairám received the news of the Emperor's fatal accident on the 15th February 1556. The head-quarters were then at Kalánur, a place on the northern side of Amritsar; where Akbar was proclaimed Emperor, Bairám at the same time being declared Prime Minister, both for war and peace.

Hemu advanced upon Agra, which was evacuated, without resistance, by the forces of the Mughol Government. Under the walls of Dehli he gained a success over the Mughol leader there; and on the retreat of the Mughols Hemu entered the city, where he is said to have assumed sovereignty under the title of Rájá Vikram Aditya. He then marched northwards till he found his way barred by the enemy on the storied field of Pánipat. The Mughol leaders were divided in opinion; and a council of war went the length of resolving on retirement beyond the line of the Indus until strength could be gathered from Kabul for an overwhelming advance. But Bairám, gauging the situation more wisely, overruled the resolution in virtue of his plenary powers. The circumstance is noteworthy in two ways: it shows how great was the prestige of the Hindu chandler; and it shows, further, that the early Mughols looked on Kábul as their base of action.

The details of the battle are given—though by no means copiously—in the *Tabakát-i-Akbari*, by a contemporary author, Nizám-ud-din Ahmad. It was prefaced by an extraordinary mishap to the native army, who lost the artillery as it was on its way to head-quarters, by a sudden *coup de main* on the part of the Mughols. Bairám at the same time acted upon the principle of

encouragement noted in Voltaire's sneer at the conduct of the British Government with Admiral Byng ; slaying in his own tent the officer whose misconduct or misfortune had led to the loss of Dehli, three subordinates being at the same time placed under arrest. Next day (5th November 1556), the decisive encounter took place. Hemu's first rank being broken, he advanced on his elephant at the head of the reserve. The historian admits that this movement was at first successful. Hemu's centre moved on the left wing of the Mughols ; it consisted of 500 elephants and 20,000 Indian horse, Afgháns and Rájputs. Having broken the Mughols on the left, Hemu turned upon their centre, where Bairám commanded in person. The archers stood firm ; the enemy's advance was met by a ceaseless storm of arrows, one of which entering the eye of the valiant Hindu leader as he stood up in his howdah, at once rendered him incapable of command. There seems to have been no one to take his place ; as so often happens in Asiatic warfare, the masterless multitude lost their cohesion and confidence, broke their order, turned their backs, and fled, pursued by the Imperialists with considerable slaughter. Hemu, meanwhile, had sunk fainting in the howdah, and his elephant was captured by a Mughol officer, who drove his prize straight into the presence of the young Emperor. It was afterwards related by Akbar's friends how Bairám failed in all attempts to persuade Akbar to flesh his maiden sword in the captive who was held up before him with his ghastly wound. "He is no better than a dead man," urged the gallant stripling ; "I cannot strike him." Before all those who stood by the stern Atálik then cut off the Hindu's head with his own sabre.

Next day the army marched on Dehli, where the

young monarch was welcomed by the citizens. An expedition was hence sent to Mewát, whither Hemu's family and treasures had been sent for safety. The treasure was captured and its escort slain.

Adil Sháh, the titular head of the Sur family, died in Bengal, whither he had fled. In his fourteenth year Akbar found himself, nominally at least, master of all India north of the Narbada; in some places as Federal head—what is commonly but improperly called “Suzerain”—in others with complete sovereignty. He was born at Amarkot, in Sindh, on the 15th October 1542, his mother's name being Hámida Begam. She was a lady of Persian extraction, of whom Humaiun had become enamoured on his flight through Sindh; and after her marriage she became known by the title of *Maryam Makam*, which may be taken as meaning “ranking with the Blessed Virgin.” The infant had been named after his maternal grandfather, and his full denomination was “Abul Fatch, Jalál-ud-din, Muhamad Akbar.” By reason of his youth and inexperience he remained for some time subject to the aid and influence of Bairám Khán, to whom, indeed, he was deeply indebted. But there were other ties from which a monarch scarcely out of his childhood could not well escape. The lady who had been his wet-nurse was the wife of a nobleman named Muhamad Khán Azim (also called Shams-ud-din Khán Atka) to whom Akbar was much attached, and of whom we shall hear again; and there was also another lady—conjectured to have been a mistress of Humaiun's—whose name was Máham Anka, or Anaga, and who had taken great care of Akbar during the more tender portion of his boyhood. Bairám's soldierly sternness had already made him enemies, who began to look to this interior life as a means of creating

a counterpoise to the power of the Minister. The latter, however, was still in the prime of his vigour, able, and possessed of every advantage that could be conferred by transcendant success and real merit. He made over the management of the land-revenue to a Turk of arbitrary character, named Muzafar Khán; but the selection was amply justified by the results; for Muzafar not only made a beginning towards an accurate and reasonable system, but brought forward Todar Mal, who was afterwards to carry on and complete the great work. Of other *protégés* of Bairám no less than twenty-five ultimately rose to the highest rank in the official hierarchy of the Empire, next to the blood royal.

Nevertheless, Bairám's own power was not to be of long endurance. The boy monarch was exposed to a constant counteraction in private; and when that became hostile to a Minister, that Minister could not be saved. Nor was the Emperor yet in possession of that maturity of judgment which can alone teach due caution and keep a king from being deceived. Moreover, that the Minister was arrogant might be expected from the situation, and is certainly indicated by such an incident as the slaying of Hemu when the Emperor had declared him unfit to be struck; and even the slaying of the Dehli commandant was an act which, though if preceded by trial might have been susceptible of justification, was of an arrogant and arbitrary character, as done. The fiscal reforms had need of time for their due fruit. and meanwhile, the resources of the land were blighted by the greed of military grantees. Distrust arose on both sides, till at last, in 1558, the Minister fell from power, and on his fall was worried into open rebellion. Akbar took him prisoner, but pardoned him, in view of his great services. He was then advised to undertake

the pilgrimage to Mecca, and left Hindustán for that purpose. But on his way to the port of embarkation he was assassinated by a private enemy, of the treacherous Fathán tribe. The date of his death is 31st January 1561.

The Emperor had by that time attained the age when a monarch is held capable of managing the affairs of his State. Henceforth we shall find him the head of a great national movement and the founder of institutions which gave temporary prosperity to many millions of mankind, and produced effects which are never likely to pass away. Many intrigues and wars of this long reign must be left almost unrecorded in this history, of which the object is to follow the fortunes of the people rather than of the ruler, and to sketch mainly the effect that he produced on the social aspect of his time.*

The other events of the first five years of the reign will, therefore, be very briefly summarised. A force of Afgháns in the fort of Mánkot having surrendered in 1557, their leader Sikandar Sur was pardoned and provided for in Bahár. The pacification of the Punjáb ensued. In 1558 the Emperor was at Dehli and Agra, from which latter place he despatched an expedition by which Gwalior was reduced. In 1559 the territory of Jaunpur was wrested from the Patháns and the fort of Rinthambor from the Hindus. In 1560 the proceedings against Bairám occupied all attention, the chief command being held by the Atka, Shams-ud-din, already mentioned as husband of the Emperor's nurse. In 1561 an expedition was sent into Málwa for the subjugation of the Pathán Governor, Báz Bahádur, an

* For full biographical details the reader is referred to *Kaiser Akbar* by the late Graf von Noer, a work distinguished alike by enthusiasm and research.

affair which deserves separate mention. This campaign was entrusted to a young officer named Adham Khán, son of Máham Anka. His paternity is ignored by the chroniclers, but it has been attributed, on apparently reasonable conjecture, to the late Emperor Humaiun ; in which case Adham was, of course, Akbar's half-brother. The object was one of importance. As an adherent of the fallen dynasty Báz Bahádur was of more than suspected loyalty ; and the contumacy which he was beginning to display was not only of general bad example and influence, but tended to shut out the Empire of Hindustán from communication with the sea, and especially from the pilgrimage to the Holy Places in Arabia.

Báz Bahádur at this time exercised almost independent power in the province of Málwa, and had established himself at the town of Sárangpur on the Káli Sindh river, about midway between Guna and Mhow. He was a lover of pleasure and of the arts, and his first female favourite was a Hindu lady of great beauty and genius, named Rupmati. Adham Khán was successful in his attack on Báz Bahádur, whom he routed and put to flight ; but the victory was tarnished by the violence offered to Rupmati, who committed suicide in the fashion of the Roman Lucretia. Akbar heard of his officer's conduct, and hastened in person to the spot. Adham professed great submission, but at the same time retained possession of two other ladies of Báz Bahádur's family. The Emperor ordered them to be taken from him, but Adham's mother, Máham Anka, had the insolence and cruelty to kill the innocent girls, lest they should make known the treatment that they had undergone from her son. This greatly annoyed the young sovereign. He did not, indeed, at the time, punish the offence of his

friends, "because," as Abul Fazl says, "the veil had not yet been taken from his eyes." But he issued orders that, in future, no prisoners of war should be made slaves; "for," adds the commentator, "although the chastisement and suppression of rebels is one of the duties of rulers, yet the persecution of their unoffending women and children is unlawful." Humanising ideas were thus already taking their place in the Imperial system.

Other events of these earlier years would hardly be worth recording. It was a period of immaturity; and the real reign, so far as it was affected by the character of the sovereign, was yet to come. This remaining period will be found to divide itself naturally into three divisions of almost equal duration. During the first fifteen years a certain amount of preparation will be throughout discernible; the monarch was still young, as were also the paladins and poets who were to make his epoch glorious by their deeds and words. Opinions were forming, administrative reforms were in an experimental stage. About 1576 began a second period, marked by the reception at Court of heretics, Christians, and free-thinkers, and by the growth of their influence. The Emperor, now in the maturity of his mind, was maturing his thoughts and carrying his schemes into practice. Then came that last act of a great Trilogy, which was only what was to be expected in an Oriental despotism without permanent institutions. In such conditions originality degenerates into cant, and caution drivels into decay. One by one the reformers, once so full of vigour and hope, are overtaken by old age and death. Only here and there lingers some quiet lover of letters who, wiser or more fortunate, retires betimes into the shade to prepare the record of departed greatness.

Born in exile, and cradled in captivity, Akbar must have had some natural predisposition towards self-reliance and exertion, for he is independent and energetic as soon as he emerges into notice at all. His persistent refusal to strike a wounded captive has been noticed. His choice of Máham Anka as an adviser; his mixture of firmness and pity towards the arbitrary and arrogant veteran who, having gained Hindustan for the Mughols, now thought himself entitled to rule it for himself: these are instances of precocious will in a boy. It is probable that the impossibility of maintaining the empire without the loyalty of the people had already occurred to his mind.

Among measures for promoting a social and political union the repression of high-handedness among the dominant class was a needful step. However beneficial may be the spirit of "ascendancy" while an empire is being won, it cannot be kept in content and progress by exasperating native feeling through race-pride and contempt for indigenous character and customs. One of the first examples made—though the Emperor may have been too young to be quite conscious that he was making one—had been the degradation and death of the Prime Minister, Bairám Khán. Another instance was now to occur, in a case nearer and dearer to the monarch.

The bastard, Adham Khán, had returned from the scene of his oppression in Málwa, and was living in retirement at Agra, unable to obtain a fresh command. His mother, "that pattern of chastity," as Abul Fazl calls her, with polite irony, was living, still more retired, at Dehli. They allowed themselves to be persuaded that their disgrace was due to the Emperor's foster-father, Shams-ud-din Atka, who had replaced them in royal favour. One summer night Adham burst into the

hall, after the Emperor had retired, and inflicted mortal wounds on the Atka as he sat conversing with some of the courtiers. The wounded man struggled out on the moon-lit terrace, followed by the murderer, flourishing his bloody weapon. The Emperor was alarmed, and came out of his private apartments in a dressing-gown to see what had happened. Appalled at the sight that presented itself, he grappled with the excited criminal; a struggle ensued between the young men, in which the Emperor quickly prevailed. Adham was disarmed and knocked down by a blow from Akbar's closed fist. The attendants had been looking on in stupor till the Emperor roused them, and the murderer was thrown over the parapet, his neck being broken by the fall. His mother, hearing vaguely of a fracas, came over from Dehli in all haste. On being made acquainted with the facts, she took them in their full significance. "His Majesty has done well," she said. But, though she bowed her head, her heart was broken: in a few weeks she followed her son out of the world: and a magnificent mausoleum, near the Kutab Minar at Old Dehli, still marks the memory of mother and son.*

We have already had to speak of the shock that the cruelty of these once-trusted advisers had given the young sovereign in Málwa, and of his consequent edict about the families of rebels. Other edicts of a similar spirit next began to appear, though the exact dates are not determinable; and it may be best to preface all further account of such things by the mention of an event which must have produced a considerable effect on

* There is some difficulty about the date of this event, which Nizám-ud-din puts in the eighth, and Abul Fazl in the seventh, year of the reign. Beale says positively 10th May 1562, and he is usually accurate.

the mind of a generous youth scarcely yet arrived at his twentieth year.

In 1562 Akbar undertook a pilgrimage to the shrine of Shekh Muin-ud-din Chisti, at Ajmere. On the way he was entertained at Sanganir by Rájá Bihári Mal, the ancestor of the present reigning family of Jaipur, whose capital was then at Amber, and Akbar, on this occasion, took the Rájá's daughter to wife. The Emperor had one wife already, Sultán Ruqia by name, daughter of his uncle Mirza Hindál, which lady, though childless, was always regarded as "Chief Consort," and as such had great authority in the family.*

This second marriage forms a noteworthy point in the history of Akbar. His father-in-law, the Rájá, became a "commander of five thousand," or member of the first class of grandees; and the young bride, who was permitted to retain her own religious practices in the palace, exercised a marked influence on her husband. The Mughols, as a Turkish race, were hereditarily predisposed to seek wives in foreign populations; and their tribal customs long preserved that show of marriage by capture which marked the origin of their exogamy. So late as the year 1839 a traveller witnessed the marriage of a prince of the Dehli royal family to a daughter of the late Colonel Gardner, at Khásganje, near Eta, N.W.P., when the bride was carried off with simulated violence. It is probable that this tendency arose among the ancient Tartars, habitual slave-hunters, who actually recruited their families by forcible seizures of the daughters of the degenerate Aryans among whom, and at whose expense, they carried on their depredations. If so, we have in this the key to the gradual improve-

* Later in life Akbar condemned polygamy.

ment of physical type among them, in the same way as the appearance of their remote congeners in Europe has been improved by habitual intercourse with Circassian slaves. Besides the daughter of Amber, Akbar subsequently married at least two other foreign ladies, an Armenian, and a princess of Márwár. Preserving unmolested in the palace their chapels and their chaplains, these ladies would necessarily have their share in promoting the catholicity of the Emperor's mind and predisposing him to regard with favour Hindus and Christians.

Soon after the first Hindu marriage, accordingly, we find two taxes remitted which were always execrated by those who formed an overwhelming majority of the people of Hindustan. These were the tax on pilgrims to Hindu shrines, and the *jizia*, or capitation, in lieu of death, which we have already seen imposed on unbelievers by earlier Muslim sovereigns, in accordance with the doctrines of Abu Hanifa. The Hindus were always most sensitive on this subject; for the *jizia* combined insult with injury, by doubling a man's taxes while humiliating him on the side of his hereditary opinions. The reimposition of the *jizia* under the austere fanatic Aurangzeb was a concomitant and a cause of the ultimate decay of the Empire.

After the fall of the Bastard and his mother further repressive measures against the immigrant aristocracy of creed and colour continued. Especial exertions were required to put down a serious conspiracy headed by a Turkmán noble called Mirza Sharf-ud-din. At first in high favour, this officer had lately left Court without leave, and, with the help of another who had just returned from Mecca, raised a dangerous revolt. This was quelled with some difficulty within Indian limits, only to break

out afresh in Kábul, where Akbar's brother was Viceroy. The attempts of the Patháns in the Eastern Provinces, which followed, were foiled by active measures; and a successful campaign was waged in what is now called "the Central Provinces," where a Hindu princess fought against the Imperialists, under Asaf Khán, with great spirit and ability. In 1564 a temporary repose ensued, which Akbar utilised by building at Agra, and attending to family concerns. In the following year the fort which still forms the central object at Agra was begun, the cost being furnished by a temporary assessment on the holders of territorial fiefs.

About the same time the Emperor had to encounter another attack upon his life, perhaps growing out of old troubles. When Sharf-ud-din fled from Court as above mentioned, he left behind him a dependant named Fulád, who had been a slave of his father's. This man found his way into the precincts of the household, and set himself to watch for an opportunity of mischief. One evening, as Akbar was returning from hunting, Fulád got upon the roof of a building by the way-side, and shot an arrow at the Emperor while he passed by. It was at first proposed to examine him; but Akbar forbade this, and he was put to death on the spot, without having the opportunity of causing further mischief by—possibly false—incriminations. The Emperor, drawing out the arrow, rode on to his palace.

In 1566 a rebellion was raised at Jaunpur in the name of the Emperor's brother Muhamad Hákim, who had been the untrustworthy viceroy at Kábul. The leader was an Uzbek officer named Ali Kuli, who had commanded in the surprise of Hemu's artillery before the action at Panipat in 1556, and had been rewarded by the honorific title of "Khán Zamán." A long cam-

paign was instituted, in which a leading part was ultimately borne by the celebrated Todar Mal ; and Khán Zamán was, after a protracted struggle, defeated and slain at Sakráwal, near Allahabad, the Emperor being present with the army.

As this is the first instance, under the Mughol Emperors, of the employment of a Hindu in war against a Muslim enemy, and as that Hindu is to take a prominent part in the coming narrative, let us pause here to take a note of the Rájá Toḍar Mal. This distinguished man was of the *Khatri* tribe—one still of high consideration in the Punjáb. Originally in the service of Sher Sháh, he had become imbued with that ruler's principles of benevolent assiduity ; and being transferred into the office of Akbar's first finance minister, Muzaffar Khán, he had given valuable assistance in revising the crude and hasty arrangements of the late Bairám Khán. He was now about forty years of age ; and his employment in the novel character of a military leader is probably attributable to the fear of collusion between the rebel leader and his old comrades among the Turkmán and Mughol aristocracy. Associated with him in command was a Sáýad of Khorasán, of hasty valour and impracticable temper. With these leaders, however, Akbar was safe as to integrity ; and this was all-important. The minister who had succeeded Bairám was a Mughol named Muna'im Khán, and the second in command was at first A'saf Khán. Of these the first had negotiated with Ali Kuli and for a time procured his pardon, while the second went over to him and joined in his rebellion. It was therefore essential that more trustworthy officers should be employed, who would be kept faithful by a sense of their dependence. Hence the employment of what may be

called "professional politicians," which was to become a fruitful element of Akbar's system. During this campaign Akbar's attention was diverted by the simultaneous outbreak of his brother in Kábul, but it was suppressed before the Emperor left Lahore. About the middle of the year he returned to the Jaunpur campaign and participated—as we have seen—in the final action of Sakráwal, in which Ali Kuli was killed. The rest of the Uzbek chiefs of that quarter were taken prisoners, and, for the most part, treated leniently, though some of the more unruly were put to death. The Emperor then returned to Agra.

But before the end of the year he undertook a very memorable task, which he performed in person. This was no other than the reduction of the famous fort of Chitor, in Mewar (now the Rájaship of Udaipur) where the celebrated Jai Mal was in command. The origin of the campaign is obscure. The Rána—a son of Bábar's opponent Sanka—had probably shown a spirit of independence of which traces have been even in our times observable among his descendants. On hearing of the Emperor's approach he took refuge in the almost inaccessible hills of his country, leaving Jai Mal to defend Chitor. This place might well be thought impregnable in such days as those. It occupies an isolated rock more than a mile in length, and nearly 400 feet high, the upper portion being almost a perpendicular scarp of nature. Within there is a citadel. Great quantities of stores had been collected, and the garrison consisted of 8,000 intrepid Rájputs, with abundance of ammunition and an inexhaustible water-supply. But Akbar made scientific approaches, while his light troops ravaged the surrounding country and guarded the besiegers against molestation on the part of the Rána. Walls

were built round the fortifications, under cover of which the siege-train worked and mines were driven under the bastions. The explosion of the first mine made a breach, but the second was delayed by an accident, so that when it exploded it blew the assailants and defenders into the air together. The Emperor's resolution was only confirmed by this disaster ; and a few nights after, while on the circumvallation, he was fortunate enough to shoot Jai Mal with his own musket, as the Rájput commander was directing the defence by torch-light. The disheartened garrison immediately performed the usual feat of Rájput despair. Collecting their families and chattels in one building they set the whole on fire, Jai Mal's corpse being consumed on the pile along with the shrieking innocents. When the noise and conflagration gave notice of this deed, Akbar ordered an entrance to be made ; the slaughter of the Rájputs went on all night, by the light of that dreadful fire ; by daylight Akbar made his entry. Desperate conflict still raged in every street, but the citadel was not defended ; from 2,000 to 3,000 of the garrison were slain, and the rest made captive. Akbar carried the doors of the main gate to Agra, where they are still to be seen in his castle there, and where also several monster kettle-drums are shown, said to be made of the metal of the Chitor guns. This event occurred in the end of February 1568. So far as the refractory State was concerned, the conquest, it is deplorable to add, remained nearly barren ; but the popular mind received an impression that has never been effaced ; and while the house of Udaipur was almost alienated from the Empire by irreconcilable hostility, the rest of Rájpután was quelled by the prestige derived from the exploit, and has benefited accordingly.

Another important occurrence distinguished the Chitor campaign. It was while the Emperor was thus engaged that a man was introduced to him who was destined to exercise great influence, alike on his private character and on his public career. This was the celebrated literate Shaikh Faizi, who at once obtained a post of emolument and was subsequently promoted to a title equivalent to that of Poet Laureate. The son of an inhabitant of Nagor, of Arab descent, he had been brought up in liberal opinions; and he and his able brother Abul Fazl, afterwards destined to be so much associated with the Emperor, are the persons chiefly charged with leading him away from Islám. Faizi was twenty-nine years old when he first came forward, and he became Court poet four years later, on the death of the then incumbent. He is further noteworthy as the first Muslim who mastered Sanskrit. He is said to have been also a fair Hebraist, a good Arabic scholar, and a pleasing writer in Persian, in prose and verse.

The year 1568 was troubled by the misconduct of certain members of the royal family commonly called "the Mirzas"; and an army which had been raised for the reduction of the celebrated Hindu fort of Rauthambor was diverted from its purpose and sent against the Mirzas, who were driven into Gujarát.

Next year Rauthambor fell, and the Hindu chief—whom an earlier conqueror would have slaughtered—was treated kindly and provided for. One of the other occupations of this year was the beginning of the palace at Sikri (known as Fatehpur-Sikri, or "Sikri, the City of Victory"). This was founded in co-operation with Shaikh Salim, a hermit of the "Chisti" order, who had promised the Emperor an heir. Kálinjar—the fort whose siege had proved fatal to Sher Sháh—sur-

rendered to Akbar, under the prestige acquired at Chitor and Rauthambor, and the Rájá became an Imperial adherent.

But the crown to Akbar's prosperity in 1569 was, to all appearance, the birth, on the afternoon of Wednesday 31st August, of a son and heir, named Salim, in honour of the Saint of Sikri to whose spiritual exertions the blessing was ascribed. His mother was the Princess of Amber mentioned above, and he lived to succeed his father on the Imperial throne.

The year 1570 was spent in royal progresses, to Ajmer, Nagor, and the Punjáb. The following year was similarly employed; the land and its ruler were at rest.

In 1572 the affairs of Gujarat began to attract attention, and complaints were constantly reaching the Court of the maladministration there. The province appears to have been overrun and partitioned by the Mirzas just mentioned, whom Akbar left in contemptuous neglect until roused by complaints of their oppressing the people.

In this campaign a distinguished part was borne by Mán Singh, a member of the reigning family of Jaipur (of whom we shall hear more hereafter); and Bhagwán Dás, the Emperor's brother-in-law, obtained special honour. Surat capitulated after a siege of more than seven weeks; and about the same period the rebel Sharf-ud-din, after giving trouble for ten years, was sent into camp a prisoner. The Mirzas were driven out, and order was, for the time, restored in Gujarát.

About this time, also, another literary adventurer rose high in Akbar's favour, a Brahman named Mahesh Dás, on whom the Emperor bestowed the title of Rájá Birbal *Kábrai*. The hill-fortress of Kot Kángra, or Nagarkot, with the adjacent fief, was bestowed on the Rájá, and

a force being sent to take it from its present occupant another Hindu—there ensued a hotly-contested siege with much carnage, at the end of which the commander of the place was permitted to capitulate—the siege being raised under pressure of a diversion which was being effected by one of the pertinacious Mirzas. Having restored Kángra to its original lord, with some compensation to Birbal, the leader of the expedition proceeded against the Mirza, who was slain, and his head taken to Court and laid before the Emperor. The prisoners were, as usual, treated leniently.

Meanwhile, a fresh rebellion arose in Gujarát, which seems to have made unusual demands on the activity and organizing powers of Akbar. When the force had arrived at Pátan, a full review took place before the Emperor; for, “although,” says the chronicler, “he trusted in Heaven, yet he neglected not the material means of success.” The Imperial forces consisted of cavalry alone, with which Akbar had crossed the country from Agra with great rapidity. They fell upon the enemy pell-mell, and routed them with such loss that two thousand heads were used in the monumental pyramid. The Emperor then entered Ahmadábád in triumph, and returned after once more settling the country. Rájá Todar Mal was directed to ascertain the assets and provide for the future collection of the revenue, a fact which may lead to the conjecture that fiscal and agrarian trouble had been at the bottom of the past disorders. They had been raised, doubtless, by turbulent chiefs, but these would have had less influence in a well-settled and prosperous region.

While these things were occurring in the west an even more serious outbreak had taken place in Bengal, where the indigenous Muslims mustered strongly, and

had a centre of disaffection in the surviving adherents of the fallen dynasty of Sur. One of these had held for some time possession of the provinces of Bengal and Bahár, under a nominal dependence on the Empire. But on his death his elder son was murdered by the nobles, and the younger son, Dáud, who was raised to power in his stead, gave signs of contumacy and general misconduct, which led the Emperor to send Muna'im Khán, the Khán Khánán—commander-in-chief—against him with an army. "Dáud was, says the chronicler, "a dissolute scamp, who knew nothing of the business of a ruler." He was at feud with one of his own officers, a noble named Lodi, whom he threw into prison for having made terms with the Imperial leader. To recover favour Lodi, recommended him to make war against the Mughols, and Dáud, while carrying out his feud by the slaughter of Lodi, resolved to act upon his advice. The execution of Lodi had a fatal effect upon the fortunes of his cruel murderer. The Pathans of Bengal and Bahár became disunited and disorganized, Muna'im Khán took advantage of his opportunity, and marched upon Patna, which he captured with great slaughter. Dáud fled at first, but finally made terms, and was granted an interview with the Commander-in-Chief, who treated him in the spirit of a man of pacific leanings, the Emperor sanctioning—perhaps initiating—the merciful policy. The capital was removed from Patna to the old city of Gaur, where the Commander-in-Chief was attracted by the situation and the beauty of the buildings. But the place, having been long neglected, had become the scene of overgrowth, bad drainage, and malaria. The army was ravaged by disease and death, till there were not left men enough to dispose of the corpses of the

dead. At last the Commander-in-Chief, Muna'im, himself succumbed. Khán Jahán Khán succeeded to the command, but Dáud could not resist the temptation of renewing the war against the diminished and demoralised forces of the Empire. A fresh campaign ensued, in which the Emperor took no part; and finally Dáud was overthrown and killed, and his head sent to Court. This occurred in 1575.

About this time the strange structure, now called *Diwán Khás*, was erected at Fatehpur-Sikri, for the purpose of discussions on literary and theological topics. It is a square building, in a vast court, and abutting on a library or record-chamber. It has four galleries, with a seat in the centre, elevated on a massive pillar, and approached by four raised pathways; here, every Friday night, the Emperor assembled the members of his academy, or debating society, so that the orthodox sate on one side, the philosophers on the other, the Sáyads—or perhaps Persian visitors—on a third, the courtiers and men of the world on the fourth, while the Emperor occupied the central seat and acted as moderator of the controversies that took place. The demure Badaoni, who looked with great bitterness on the freethinking of the time, says that these discussions always ended in questions of religion, till the various parties fell to calling each other “pervert” and “atheist.” “Innovators and schismatics artfully started their doubts and sophistries; and so His Majesty, who sought after truth, but was surrounded by low, irreligious persons, became sunk in scepticism.” More on this subject will appear later.

In the meantime it should be noticed that this is the period at which we first hear of the arrival of Christians at Court. They were Portuguese from Surat, and their

visit was, in all probability, consequent upon the final pacification of Gujarát.

We have now arrived at a turning-point in Akbar's life and history. Hitherto he has been consolidating his power, marching—usually at the head of armies—through the vast regions of his Empire, worshipping at the shrines of the Chistis, suppressing insubordination, and doing little to distinguish him from the ordinary run of Eastern warrior kings.

Henceforth we shall behold him in a different light. The intercourse with Hindus and Christians gradually modified many of his old Muslim prejudices. For example, he began to encourage the art of figure-painting, an objection to which has been in all ages one of the tenets of the iconoclastic religion of Muhamad. In one of his recorded conversations Akbar is stated to have observed that anything which recalled the works of nature must be taken as an act of respect to God. We find dim remains of pictures on the walls at Fatehpur, among them one thought to have represented the Annunciation. Manrique, the Augustinian missionary, saw a Madonna in Akbar's tomb at Sikandra. Sculpture, too, was practised, apparently by Christians, if we may judge by the marble statue of the Virgin found in the Imperial Palace, and now standing in the portico of the Agra Bank. Invocations to the Founder of Christianity are mentioned by Badaoni. The smoking of tobacco was introduced by travellers, one of the greatest innovations ever made in the unchanging East. Although still discountenanced by rigid Muslims, especially among the Sayads of Arab origin, it is a thing so wedded to orientals that one can hardly fancy an India, Persia, or Turkey, in which it was unknown. Akbar, after his experience, gave it up; but he would not reject the

practice without trial, "for all the good things we have," said he, "must have once been new."

The operations of Todar Mal in regard to the land-revenue in Gujarát gave a fresh impetus to agrarian reform. It was at the same time observed that much of the soil in Hindustan had fallen out of cultivation, and to encourage its being brought under plough some rule for dividing the profits between the State and the cultivator was evidently requisite. After careful consideration, as we are told by Nizám-ud-din, who was himself an official of the time, it was arranged that there should be an examination by *parganas*, or fiscal unions. In the Crown lands officers were appointed, one to each tract roughly estimated to yield a *kror*, or ten millions of the copper integer—of which either forty or sixty-four went to the rupee. These officers were entitled *Kroris*, and were bidden to carry out the above-mentioned principles. The grandees were ordered to make similar appointments in their respective fiefs.

Care was simultaneously taken to minimise the evil effects of the royal marches and progresses. Lictors, called *yasáwals*, were stationed round each camping-ground before the camp approached; it was their business to protect the fields from spoliation, while trusty officials, with money in their hands, went along with them, examining claims and awarding compensation. In all this care for the people—so unusual under despotic Eastern governments—we cannot err in tracing the example of Sher Sháh, and the influence of ministers trained in his school.

Nor was the Emperor unmindful of a due pomp and splendour in all that regarded his own person and surroundings. It would be difficult to convey to those who have not seen it an adequate notion of his

favourite abode at Fatehpur. It is, like Versailles and the Escorial, the country palace of a great monarch. But unlike those residences, it has no overpowering unity or grandeur of design, unless we except the part dedicated to religious uses. That part consists of a vast quadrangle, raised upon the living rock, and bounded by cloisters of which the south wall is seventy feet from base to parapet. This is entered by a gateway on 'high steps, towering to a total height of one hundred and twenty feet. On the west is the great mosque, one of the three or four finest in the world. The palace buildings extend, at the back, to a distance of half a mile, a labyrinth of structures now much decayed, and of which the special purposes are not easily discerned. It is, however, certain that its general effect must have been both peculiar and splendid in its original condition. On the northern side extended a spacious lake, covered with pleasure boats; on the east was a wide and wooded park, enclosed by crenellated walls with towers. The summit of the great rock in the centre glittered with marble kiosks, red stone galleries, and enamelled roofs. The courtyards were copiously watered, and shaded with gay awnings. There were baths of painted stucco; dwellings of chiselled free-stone; and porticoes glowing with gilding and fresco-painting, and hung with brocaded silks.

It is in such a framework that we must conceive the noble form of Akbar, in his thirty-fourth year, keen-eyed and broad-shouldered, and with shaven chin, when he returned from Bengal in 1575. It was then that Faizi presented his brother, Abul Fazl, then about eighteen, destined, as years rolled on, to influence the opinions of the Emperor, and to record for posterity those *Institutes* which may be called their joint work.

A fuller account of the new-comer will await a new chapter. The first period of Akbar's reign ends here.

In spite of all our precautions, we have found ourselves compelled to take a disagreeable amount of notice of intrigues and battles. But it may be observed that these were far from purposeless, if two things have only been made plain : one, that the events were all tending towards the fusion of the various races, the other that class-prejudice and foreign ascendancy were rapidly disappearing. Instead of bickerings for the possession of barren sovereignty, the wars of Akbar were deliberate undertakings directed to the reduction of oppressive and insubordinate deputies and to the absorption of provinces into the Kosmos of an orderly administration ; and the agents by whom operations were carried out were selected on grounds of merit rather than of blood. Some of the great officials, like Muna'im and Muzaffar, were Turkish ; but Todar Mal, Bhagwán Dás, and other Hindu grandees, were coming to the front, as were also several Patháns, or native Muslims. Such things not only conciliated the ambitions and affections of the higher classes, but obviated the evils which, in Bábar's time, had been detected in Mughol administration. By this association of natives, in control as well as in detail, the evils of Turkish sloth and greed were much mitigated. The taxation was not heavy, and the method of collection became simple, skilful, and inoppressive. In times of calamity, such as are even now too common in India, suspensions and even remissions of revenue-demand were allowed, and money was occasionally advanced to necessitous agriculturists. The expenses of the public services were still largely met by the assignment of territorial fiefs ; but, in theory always, and greatly in practice also, the

idea of State ownership of the soil was firmly grasped, and the main source of revenue was the rent. There was, it is true, a defect in regard to recognition of the claims of individuals; and hence there must have been a lack of that "magic of property which turns sand into gold." The unlimited potentiality of the few, which must have practically prevailed, would withhold the stimulus to exertion, would detract from independence of character, and would restrain the formation of reserve funds. Wealth was either ostentatiously squandered or hidden in unproductive hoardings; and those secondary wants were undeveloped which are at once the spring of industry among free populations and the cause of their general progress. Still, the state of society, if somewhat stationary, was not unhappy, and its chief defect was its dependence on the durability of a strong but precarious centralisation.

CHAPTER V.

AKBAR: SECOND PERIOD. A.D. 1576-1592.

IN the year which closed the period which was the subject of our last chapter a number of schismatic teachers appeared in India. The Osmánlis in 1575 had obtained great successes in Persia; and the Shia king of that country was murdered and was succeeded by a Sunni. One of this ruler's first acts was to persecute and disperse the heretical leaders whom that country had always harboured. Persia, though to all appearance absorbed in Islám by the conquests of the early Caliphs, had maintained a secret opposition in the interests of the old fire-worshippers, who were particularly strong on the southern shores of the Caspian. The Dervishes—or religious orders—had always cherished many heresies; and the adherence to the Shia sect—though political in its origin—had also maintained an element of dissidence from the rest of Islám. The poets, too, (among whom Umar Kháyyám is perhaps the best known among Europeans,) preserved a note of free-thought; while the great preponderance of Aryan blood among the population went far towards perpetuating a spirit of inquiry among the educated classes, and in particular a tendency to Pantheism, which militated

against the Arabian view of the Almighty as a magnified Sultán, jealous, capricious, and arbitrary. Out of such elements originated, above all, the mystic philosophy known as "Sufism," a word whose etymology suggests a European origin (*Sufi*=σοφος). This system has attracted almost all the most distinguished minds of Western Asia, down to the renowned Shámil of our days, once the formidable antagonist of Russia.

Men of this character becoming obnoxious to the new orthodoxy that held sway in Persia were naturally drawn to Fatehpur, where the Academy was by this time in full operation, and where the young and ardent Abul Fazl was already acquiring influence and renown. Of this ultimately unsuccessful reformer we know more in his secular than in his religious aspect ; both by reason of the ultimate failure of the projects with which he inspired his master and because his character has been described for us by bitter opponents. Of this more anon ; at present it is only needful to remark that he was one of the factors of a movement which only needed the aid of permanent constitutional machinery to render it as important as the contemporaneous reformation of England and other European countries.

The spirit of Akbar had long been under preparation. We have seen how, early in his reign, he took a Hindu wife—a step on which none of his boldest predecessors on the Muhamadan throne of Hindustan had ventured ; how, soon after that, he manifested administrative indulgence towards the long-persecuted Hindus ; and how he gave a further practical proof of the sincerity of his toleration by the employment in the public service of men of all classes among the natives of the country.

Towards the latter part of his reign he even reproached himself for not having gone farther, when young, upon

the path of toleration. His sentiments at that time were evidently the product of a ripened reflection. It is not known that when young he had ever exceeded the moral limits of persuasion. But, so long as he believed in the exclusive value of Islám, he had used his position to make converts among the Hindus; and he now confessed that he had erred in doing even this much. He lived to admit that the Muslims had no peculiar advantages. "To be circumcised," he said, almost in the words of St. Paul, "avails nothing; nor to patter a creed, or lie prone upon the ground in terror." And he added the distich:

In outward homage faith is never shown,
Looks are but looks, truth lies in deeds alone.

He was not a deep scholar, rather a man of action. But he was more; a lover of his kind, with a vast field for doing good. The fierce and barren antipathies of sectaries were shocking to him. When the disputes raged round him as he sate on his central seat in the midst of the four galleries of the *Ibádat Khána* it fared ill with the Scribes and Pharisees of Islám. Unaccustomed to contradiction, they wrangled and even fell to blows; till the evident disgust of the imperial moderator prepared their fall. Often was the hot debate abruptly closed by the wearied Akbar. At other times it would continue till the surrounding land was thrilled with the dawn of day.* Then, as the sun's broad disc leapt above the horizon, calling the simple rustics to their labour in the fields beyond the park-walls, some poet of the school of Faizi would scandalise the assembled

* These debates occurred on what Europeans call "Thursday night," but, the Muslim Friday begins when the Thursday sun goes down.

bigots with an eclectic hymn. Of such the following is an actually preserved specimen :—

I.

Come! let us raise an altar to THE LIGHT,
And lay with stones from Sinai's summit brought
For our new *Ka'ba* the foundation meet.

II.

The ancient *Ka'ba's* wall is broken down,
The basis of the *Kibla* is removed,
On new foundations raise a lasting shrine.

Abúl Fuzl, though more a man of the world than his brother the poet, was well disposed to co-operate in the *Culturkampf*. It was said of him by a contemporary who by no means shared his liberalism : “It was often asserted that Abúl Fazl was an infidel, a Hindu, a fire-worshipper, or even an atheist. But it is a juster sentence to say that he was a Pantheist who—like other *Sufis*—thought himself above the Prophet's law.”

It was a strange alliance, that between the boy-hearted hero and the gentle yet adventurous thinker charged with all available learning.

Then there were the Christian missionaries, of whom two are known by intelligible names, but the doings of these belong to a somewhat later date, though intercourse with the Portuguese on the coast had already begun, as has been already mentioned. Lastly, there was the Hindu influence, long ago softly established in the privacy of the inner apartments. Exposed to this unceasing action from domestic intercourse, the Emperor was further stimulated by the society of male friends among whom was foremost the witty Birbal, whose sayings are still current among the people of India. To these must be added the stimulus of a sympathy natural to a ruler who longed to reign over a united nation. Often, in the first hour of dawn, “grateful,”

says a contemporary, "for his many blessings, would Akbar sit upon a stone in the courtyard of his stately pleasure-house and meditate on the problems of life and of his own peculiar task." At other times, under the still sky of a summer night, he would lean over the balcony of his "House of Dreams" (still shown in the same palace) while the Pundit Debi, swinging from the wall in a basket, initiated him into the mysteries of the Vedic Nature-worship, or the synthesis of Sanscrit philosophy.

In the year 1577 the Muslim doxology disappears from the coins of the Empire, replaced by a formula embracing the Emperor's names "Jalál-ud-din Akbar"; and a similar form of words was substituted for the ordinary salutation. Instead of "Peace be with you," answered by "And to you, too, peace," uttered throughout the world of Islám wherever two Muslims meet, it was directed that the first speaker should say "God is great" (*Alláhu akbar*), and that the reply of the second should be "May His glory shine!" (*Jilli jalalihu*). The name of Muhamad was also discountenanced for infants.

While these things were taking place at Fatehpur, war was unhappily still proceeding in the remoter parts of the Empire. Bengal, it is true, was wrested from the Patháns by the final conquest and death of Dáúd, which has already been mentioned; and material tribute was sent from that province. But the Rána of Udaipur and his successor after him—Partáb or "Rana Kika"—continued in open revolt, and held in strength the fortresses of Kombhalmir and Goganda, of which the former is in the Aravali mountains, about forty miles north of Udaipur; and the latter, on the way between the two places, had been built—or at least fortified—since the fall of Chitor. Some minor chiefs co-operated, but Akbar, giving proof of the confidence he felt in his

own Rájput adherents, sent Bhagwán Dás and Mán Singh against the confederacy. Both the fortresses were taken by storm, though not till after a bloody battle had been fought, which is described by Badaoni—who was present—with much spirit. The narrator tells an anecdote which will serve to show the bitterness which still actuated the “Philistines of Islám.” “This poor man,” writes Badaoni, of himself, “went up to Asaf Khán (while our centre, under Rája Lonkaran, was seeking support from an attack of the enemy) and said, ‘How are we to tell the Rájputs of our party from the enemy?’ ‘Bah!’ he replied, ‘let fly, be the result what it may.’” And then the writer quotes a verse:

On whatso side the heathen die,
The cause of Islám gains thereby.

A grim pleasantry, indeed.

In 1578 the Emperor made a progress through Málwa and returned to Fatehpur *viâ* Dehli, where he visited his father's tomb, that splendid building which gave the last refuge to his degenerate descendants in 1857. Another insurrection in Gujarát took place, which was quelled without requiring the Emperor's presence. In 1579 Rána Partáb of Udaipur broke out again, but was quieted without much fighting. The chief events of that and the following year were of a spiritual character. Akbar made a long stay at Fatehpur, during which the question of his ecclesiastical supremacy was eagerly discussed and, ultimately, determined. That the Emperor was, or ought to be, the head no less of the Church than of the State, was strongly urged in the Friday meetings. The Emperor, seeing (as he believed) into the conditions of moral health, desired to make others partakers of his own freedom. Not by force, indeed; for though he punished

contumacy with banishment, in some instances even with death, no one was persecuted for purely theoretical differences; and several of his most familiar friends refused to join his new religion to the last, without at all losing favour. But, as a king of men, he certainly desired to be a leader of opinion. "A faith," sneers the bigoted Badaoni, "a faith based on some elementary principles traced itself on the mirror of His Majesty's heart . . . the conviction that there were reasonable men in all religions, moderate thinkers and marvel-workers among all nations." A generous belief, which it became Akbar's ambition to diffuse among his subjects. On learning, further, how much the people of Hindustan prized their institutions, he learned to regard them with affection himself. So says his friend, writing during the Emperor's life-time. Birbal impressed him with the old Aryan worship of the sun. The kindred veneration for fire came, perhaps, partly from the naphtha wells of Persia, with the Ghilán refugees. The missionaries spoke of Jesus, and Abul Fazl translated the Gospels into Persian. Father Firmilian, and Father Rudolf Aquaviva advanced proofs of the divine nature of Christ, and conducted disputations in which the doctors of Islám were not thought victorious; the weekly meetings became alive, "brightened by Aquaviva's presence," says Abul Fazl. In the month of September 1580 appeared an instrument in virtue of which it was probably intended that all these various tenets should be reconciled in an eclectic faith of which the Emperor should be chief expositor, with controlling authority. Swayed, no doubt, by recollection of past humiliation and hopes of future peace, many of the highest Muhamadan doctors were induced to sign this revolutionary covenant, which has been justly pronounced unique in

the history of the Muslim church. The following extract sufficiently explains the nature of this compromise :—

We have decreed and do decree that the rank of a just ruler is higher in the eye of God than the rank of a chief of the law ; and further that the Sultán of Islám, &c., &c., Akbar, is a most just, wise, and pious king. Therefore, if there be a variance among the doctors on a question of religion, and His Majesty should give his decree for the benefit of mankind, we do agree that such decree shall be binding upon us, and upon the whole nation. And such order (not being in opposition to the Korán) shall be imperative on all, opposition thereto being punished, with damnation in the next world, excommunication and ruin in this present life, &c.

In anticipation of this the Emperor had already proceeded in state one morning in March, to the great mosque of the Quadrangle, intending to stand forth as King-Priest in the sight of all the people. He was to recite a hymn written for the occasion by Faizi, which shows a high ideal :—

The Lord to me the kingdom gave,
He made me prudent, strong, and brave,
He guided me with right and ruth,
Filling my heart with love of truth ;
No tongue of man can sum His state—
Alláhu akbar ! God is great.

But the emotions aroused by the scene were too much for the overstrung nerves of the speaker. As he stood in the pulpit he saw his friends about him, and beheld through the wide archways, the courtyard thronged with representatives of the multitude that was so dear to his kingly heart. That heart, which had never quailed before man or beast, now beat too fast ; that voice which had been so often heard above the din of battle, now broke like a girl's. The Imperial Apostle descended from his elevation before he had articulated the first half of the lines. The rest of the service was performed by the Court chaplain.

• This period of less than two years was Akbar's

apogee. His prosperity had attained that equilibrium which, in the unpitiful rhythm of life, is never of long duration. All rival rulers had now been conquered or conciliated, from the Punjab Himalayas to the Bay of Bengal, and from the borders of Bhután to the Gulf of Cambay. Only beyond the Indus the weakness and wickedness of his brother, Mirza Mohamad Hákim troubled his peace a little. Todar Mal was the Prime Minister, head of the civil and financial administration. The management of the army, under the Emperor's control, was vested in Muzaffar Bey, or Khán, already mentioned as a *protégé* of Bairám early in the reign. The heads of the orthodox party were proscribed, and many of the reckless endowments confiscated by which the industry of the country had been put in mortmain by previous Governments. Mosques stood empty, or were used as cavalry stables. In February 1580 Jesuits arrived at Court, sent from Goa in answer to special invitation, and a small place of Christian worship arose at Agra, where there were already some Portuguese residents. The celebrated *Din Ilahi*, or eclectic monotheism of Akbar, was established as the Court religion, under the Covenant; and its Associates were enrolled, and decorated with a distinctive badge. It is remarkable that of the whole number only one—the Rájá Birbal—was a Hindu. Mán Singh's positive refusal to join will be found lower down. But thousands of persons adopted the new system. Badaoni attributes their adhesion to personal interest; doubtless the inducements of ambition and avarice would not be wanting. Nevertheless, in the short list of the interior college we do not find the names of the chief grandees, military or civil, but rather those of literary and social companions like the light Birbal, and the philosophic Faizi. Some of

these, no doubt, also obtained employment, but the Hindus and Muslims who adhered to their ancestral creeds retained the higher posts, which were evidently bestowed on grounds of fitness and professional merit, and not from mere motives of personal predilection.

The *Din Ilahi*, or "Divine Faith," has not come down to us in any special formula; it was apparently a moral Monism, founded on an attempt to fuse the mysticism of the Sufis with worship of the immanent God of Pantheism, as symbolised by the life-giving luminary that is the centre of our planetary system. It probably contained more practice than doctrine—as was but natural when the originator was such a man as the Emperor Akbar.

A few samples may be collected. Even in the most unfriendly accounts one traces the germs of social and political reform. All food was lawful, excess alone was wrong. Prostitution was taxed, polygamy reprov'd. Widow-burning (*sati*) could only take place by the undoubted and persistent desire of the victim. The *Hijra* era was discontinued; official reckonings dated from the year of Akbar's accession; the solar months of the ancient Persians were restored to use; and the year began when the sun entered *Aries*, about the 11th March. Such reforms will not seem very advanced to modern readers, but in Hindustan towards the end of the sixteenth century they were in hopeless conflict with the manners of the time and place. One edict is said to have contained the rule, "One God and one wife," which would be objected to by Hindus, who are taught to worship many gods, as by Muslims who are permitted to have many wives. Causes between Hindus were not to be brought into the Muhamadan Courts, a rule which might possibly endanger the administration

of justice, in outlying places at least, by leaving wrongs without forensic remedy. For it must always be remembered, in thinking of mediæval Hindustan, that those Eastern nations that had never come within the sphere of the Roman Empire, had never risen to the conception of law as an authoritative arrangement of society, through its representative, the sovereign power. Law, with them, is blended with religion in a fusion which, however it may enfeeble law's work as a rule of practical conduct, gives it a sort of sacred character. This will at once account for the abstention of Bhagwán Dás, the Emperor's brother-in-law, and of Todar Mal, his creature and dependant. The Muslims, too, had this Levitical view of law; but, in Akbar's time at least, Islám sate somewhat loosely upon Tartar and Persian alike. They were, moreover, men of the world, and were acquainted with something of positive law, however clumsy. But the Hindus, as has been said by a distinguished jurist, "had not passed beyond a stage which occurs in the history of all mankind, the stage at which a rule of law is not yet discriminated from a rule of religion" (Maine's *Ancient Law*, p. 23). Akbar and Abul Fazl had passed that stage, but no Hindu had. The Hindus thought—as most of them have thought in later days—that their religious system had been revealed as a special privilege for them, and a rule for their particular use and guidance. When Akbar tried to procure the adhesion of Mán Singh, the son of Bhagwán Dás, the spirited young man replied: "If joining your Majesty means only willingness to sacrifice life, I have, let me hope, already given proof that I am a faithful follower. But I have been born a Hindu. Your Majesty does not desire that I should become a Muslim. I know of no third faith."

The secular events of the time were of proportionate gravity. In 1580 a census was taken, rather, however, for purposes of police than of statistics. The powerful mind and long experience of Todar Mal were brought to bear upon the task of simplifying and organizing the regulations relating to the land-revenue; and a Domesday book was set on foot. The results of these operations appeared later, in the *Ain Akbari*, of which some account will be found in the proper place. In the same year tolls and transit-dues were abolished, and trade no doubt received a great impulse. An attempt was also made to call in worn-out coins, and to fix the current value of those that remained in circulation.

Bengal was once more disturbed, not, however, by an adversary of the old dynastic kind, but by a revolt kindled by the harshness of old Muzaffar, who commanded there. Todar Mal had to be taken away from his administrative labours and deputed to Bengal; and by-and-by another general, who had been employed against Udaipur, had to be sent to Todar Mal's support. It was not until the beginning of 1582 that the leader of this revolt was hunted into the hills.

His name was Ma'sum Asi; and as he was a native of Kábul he had connections there through whom he was enabled to create a diversion by stirring up the restless Mirza Hákim to threaten an invasion of his long-suffering brother's Empire. Akbar evidently saw in this a serious danger; for he at once proceeded to the north-west with his principal leaders and a large force. Leaving Bhagwán Dás and his son at Lahore, in civil and military charge of the Punjáb, he crossed the Indus, built the fort of Attock, and proceeded up the Khaibar to Kábul. Hákim fled before him; but came in on promise of pardon. This was in 1582.

Next year the revolt in Bengal revived. Indeed, it went from bad to worse, and spread to Bahár. Akbar went back to Agra, leaving Kábul in the hands of his repentant brother.

In 1584 the Bengal revolt was at last assuaged; but another broke out in Orissa, headed by a Pathán named Katlu. Being joined by the Kábuli Ma'sum, who had been expelled from Bengal, Katlu maintained a stubborn opposition. The Imperial troops were commanded by Zain Khán, a son of the Emperor's foster-father, whose murder by Adham Khán was related in the last chapter. With Zain was associated a young officer, about coeval with the reign indeed, of whom we shall hear as we proceed; this was Khán Mirza, otherwise known as Abdurrahim Khán, son of the unfortunate minister of Akbar's early years, the late Bairám Khán.

At the death of his father he was only four years old; but the Emperor had him carefully brought up; he was taught the Persian and Turkish literature as well as the use of arms. He distinguished himself in both ways, being a good soldier while he wrote poetry and translated Bábar's memoirs into Persian. His first essay as a military commander was in this, the third Bengal war. The struggle became localised in the Delta, then known as "the land of Bháti"; and one of the minor Imperialist leaders was defeated, taken, and put to death by the rebels near Dacca. Sháhbáz Khán, the Imperial general, fared little better for a time; but messengers were sent to him from Court to tell him plainly that, if he felt unequal to his task, Todar Mal would be sent to do it for him. Stung by this judicious reproof Sháhbáz turned valiantly to the work; and by a mixture of force and negotiation he got Ma'sum to consent to proceed on pilgrimage

to Mecca, while Katlu agreed to hold Orissa as an Imperial feudatory.

In the meantime a new career was beginning. Khán Mirza had done so well in Bengal that he was sent into Gujarát to suppress a fresh rising there, headed by a man who either was, or pretended to be, the deposed ruler of that province. In this campaign Nizám, the author of the *Tabak'it*, held a command, and he has dealt with it in a spirit of minuteness which—however natural in the circumstances—need not be imitated here. It appears to have lasted about four months, during which the Emperor was employed in founding the castle which still commands the junction of the rivers at Allahabad and afterwards in sport at Agra. The victorious officers' despatches met him as he was on the way to join them; the Emperor turned back, and the victors were received at Fatehpur with all honour, on which occasion Khán Mirza was appointed to the head of the army under the title “Khánkhánán,” which had been borne by his father.

About this time arrived news of the death of the inconstant Hákim, Akbar's brother, whom he had so often trusted only to meet with ingratitude, and who now disappeared just as he was showing symptoms of amendment. The Khánkhánán was employed in Gujarát once more, again taking Nizám with him; and Akbar departed to the Punjáb, sending Bhagwán Dás and Mán Singh on from Lahore to take charge of Kábul. At the same time the Uzbegs drove Akbar's governor out of Badakshán, and that province was lost to the Empire. Not only was the possession of Kábul thereby endangered, but the whole Alpine region between Kábul and Kashmír, between the Punjáb frontier and the mountain border of Badakshán, was very far from being subdued;

was, in fact, as lawless as it has sometimes been under British rule. The hill-tribes there—of whom the most powerful and pugnacious was the Yusafzai clan—held the Swát mountains beyond the Upper Indus and away to Bajaur and the borders of the mysterious *Siaposh*. Zain Khán, the Emperor's foster-brother, and the merry Hindu, Birbal, were sent to attack the highlanders, and at first met with some success. But they got entangled in the folds of the mountains; they quarrelled with one another, they were misled by treacherous guides. The miserable end was almost a foreshadowing of Elphinstone's fatal retreat in 1841. The Government troops were entrapped in a defile where, both sides being commanded by an inaccessible swarm of barbarians, valour and discipline were unavailing. Birbal, with eight thousand officers and men, met an inglorious carnage; with great difficulty Zain escaped. He fled to Attock on foot and unattended. The Emperor refused to see him, and long and deeply mourned for his pleasant companion of old days, the witty, facile Birbal. This disaster occurred in February 1586, and is notable as not only the first and last serious check to Akbar's arms, but also as the first step in that loss of personal happiness, which awaited him as it so often awaits men of long lives and sympathetic natures.

On hearing of Hákim's death, Akbar's first impulse had been to nominate one of the sons of the deceased as his successor in the Viceroyship. But on Mán Singh assuring him that they were not of adequate experience, the Emperor resolved upon going once more to Kábul, and seeing for himself on the spot what was the best arrangement. The eldest, Mirza Kaikobád was as old as Akbar had been at his accession, but he was not in any other way the analogue of Akbar. The

chiefs at Kábul were willing to submit to the Emperor, but not to the youth. Accompanied by Mán Singh they came down the pass to meet Akbar, whom they found at Ráwal Pindi; consequently, when Zain Khán in his forlorn condition made his way to Attock, the Emperor had already arrived there, and was enabled to send a fresh force, under the ever-trusty Todar Mal, to do something for the retrieval of honour in the Yusafzai hills. Mán Singh at the same time took a flanking force up the Khaibar, and by the help of these two Hindu leaders a blow or two could be said to be struck—of which, however, details are suspiciously defective. About the same time came an embassy from the Uzbek chief of Turkestán, but it is significant that it had to be guarded through the Khaibar by a strong body of troops under Mán Singh, and not without some fighting did it make its way to Attock.

At the New Year Festival (11th March 1587) held at Attock, Mán Singh was present, while his father and other officers were away in Kashmir, attempting the conquest of that attractive country. But the calamity in the adjoining hills had weakened their prestige, and their movements were hampered by the snow. They returned unsuccessful, much to the chagrin of the Emperor, who returned to pass the summer at Lahore. From hence a second expedition, under another leader, was sent to Kashmir; and as the passes were now open, and the attention of the local ruler was distracted by internal revolt, the campaign was both successful and bloodless. Srinagar, the capital, was occupied, and officials were appointed in the rural districts. Some fighting took place, but all ended in the overthrow of the Chief, who was deported, and—it is said—provided for elsewhere. Another successful campaign against

the Yusafzais—in which Zain Khán again took part—closed the year. Jamrud was occupied and a force was posted in the Khaibar. Mán Singh seems to have failed in a new expedition in the hills; for he was recalled from Kábul, and Zain Khán appointed Viceroy in his stead, while Mán Singh's fiefs in the Punjáb were at the same time taken from him and transferred to another officer named Sádik Khán, who led a fresh expedition into the highlands of Swát.

Early in 1589 Todar Mal began to show signs of infirmity, and a coadjutor was appointed to assist him in his work. In the end of April, Akbar visited Kashmir, whence he proceeded to Kábul, where he arrived in September, and remained two months. About this time died Bhagwán Dás and Todar Mal. Badaoni—with his usual bigotry—says that “they went to eternal perdition”; but Abul Fazl, with equally characteristic generosity, records of Todar Mal that he left no equal in Hindústan, whether for rectitude, manliness, or administrative ability.

While these things had been going on in the northern parts of the Empire, troubles had arisen on the Narbada. The incapacity and dissensions of the Imperialist officials had led to the ignominious retreat of their army. But out of disaster came unexpected gain, for the retreating army was enabled to overrun Berár and capture the town of Elichpur. Here the Imperialist officers were joined by a fugitive from the Deccan, Burhán-ul-Mulk, brother of the ruler of that country, then, as now, entitled Nizám. The poet Faizi was sent as an envoy to negotiate with the emigrant prince, who became afterwards of signal use.

Faizi's deputation took place in 1591, during the early part of which year Mirza Murád, a younger son

of the Emperor, went on an expedition to Gwalior where he was to deal with a rebellion led by a Hindu landholder. The Prince was successful, and thence proceeded to Málwa, where he established his headquarters at the famous old Hindu city of Ujain. In Gujarát the Khánkhánán won fresh laurels, fighting a battle on the Indus in which the flotilla of boats commanded by him was completely victorious over those of the rebels, under one Jání Beg, whom they blockaded on a swampy peninsula near Tatta.

On the other side of India fresh trouble had arisen in Orissa. So long as Katlu the Pathán lived, he seems to have adhered to the arrangement that he concluded with Sháhbáz Beg in 1584. But Katlu was now dead, and his former adherents—men of his own race and creed—rebelled, and plundered the temple of Jagannáth. It is greatly to the Emperor's credit that he treated this attack on unoffending Hindus as an act of contumacy, and Mán Singh—lately disgraced, as we saw, in the Punjáb—was permitted to go to Orissa and defend his co-religionists, a task for which he volunteered. When the army reached Bengal, Said Khán, the governor, was found to be too unwell to take the field, but Mán Singh resolved to push on without him; and when Said recovered he went on and joined the expedition, bringing with him a reinforcement of 6,500 cavalry. An attempt was made on the part of the Patháns to negotiate, but Pathán negotiations had by this time come to be appreciated at their proper value; moreover, there was an overt act of mischief to be chastised. Accordingly, to use the words of Abul Fazl, "a deaf ear was turned to the proposals," and on both sides dispositions were made for battle. The enemy was posted in what Abul Fazl calls "the forests of

Midnápur," posted apparently with their backs to the river Gissai, amounting to over 6,000 horse, and a great many elephants; but they were put to flight after a short action, in which they lost 300 and the Imperialists forty. News of this victory reached the Emperor at Lahore, about the end of the year 1592.

Akbar had passed the summer of this year in Kashmir. The visit had begun ill. The nephew of the newly-appointed governor, Yusaf Khán, had attacked the officers of the Imperial revenue, one of whom was killed and the other driven out in a state of demoralisation. Consequently the Emperor sent on a force to avenge the insult and followed in a leisurely manner, hunting as he marched. When he arrived at Bhimbhar he received news of the suppression of the revolt, confirmed by the material guarantee of the ring-leader's head. He went up into Kashmir, rested a week, and after confirming the governor in his position, proceeded to Bárámulla, and thence to Rohtás, after having enjoyed a fall of snow—"a thing," he said, "that I have not seen for forty years."

In Sindh the operations of the Khánkhánán were crowned with success, the rebel Jáni Beg being starved into submission. He went to Court and became a member of the College. This year, 1592, was a notable one in Muslim chronology, being, according to the lunar computation, the thousandth from the Flight. For this, as for other reasons, it has been taken as the conclusion of Akbar's second period. The millennium—so reckoned—closed on the 6th October; and it may be as well that we should turn aside from the too-frequent record of campaigns and revolts, to consider what had been done, up to this date, towards the peaceful organization of the Empire.

Of the settlement of the land revenue glimpses have already been afforded, and a fuller account will be found in the history of the third period. We may here just note that the system which had been begun in 1574-75 was at first much resisted by the orthodox Muslims, whose theory, apparently, was that Hindu subjects (or *zimmi*s, as they were called) ought to pay twice as much as the faithful; and whose representative, the bitter Badaoni, declares—with rancorous exaggeration—that “many good men died under the racks and pincers of Todar Mal, and many more perished in the dungeons of the revenue officers.” The lands that ought to have been cultivated in the interests of the public service (pay of the troops or alms-giving) were, according to him, wasted by the selfish luxuriousness of grantees. These latter, when called on to show their contribution to the welfare of the State, produced a muster of tatterdemalions, collected for the nonce. “But in every way dirt fell into the dish of the poor soldier, so that he was unable to gird up his loins.” Yet this morose pessimist is obliged to conclude his animadversions with the admission that “such was the Emperor’s good fortune that his enemies were everywhere annihilated, so that soldiers were not so much wanted.” But how these conquests were effected without armies we are not informed.

Very different is the other side of the picture, as presented by Abul Fazl. Rájá Todar Mal, he says, was appointed *Vazir*, but preferred a humble title, which practically carried with it all necessary authority. He was acquainted with all the mysteries of administration, and his clear mind soon set all to rights. “Careful to keep himself free from selfish ambition, he devoted himself to the service of the State, and earned an everlast-

ing fame." The nature of his reforms was, briefly, as follows :

Care was taken to provide easy means of complaint when undue collections were exacted, and to punish severely the guilty exactors. The number of minor officials employed in realising the recorded dues was diminished by one half. The cultivators were to be made responsible, jointly as well as severally ; the cultivators of fallow land were to be favoured for two years ; advances of seed and money were to be made when necessary ; arrears being remitted in the case of small holdings. Collectors were to make yearly reports on the conduct of their subordinates. Monthly returns were to be transmitted to the Imperial exchequer. Special reports were to be sent up of any special calamities, hail, flood, or drought.

The collectors were to see that the farmers got receipts for their payments, which were to be remitted four times in the year ; at the end of that period no balance should remain outstanding. Payments were, if possible, to be voluntary, but the standing crops were theoretically hypothecated ; and, where needful, were to be attached. Above all, there was to be an accurate and minute record of each man's holding and liabilities. The very successful land-revenue system of British India is little more than the application of these principles ; though the method of assessment was different.

Mention has been already made of the reform of the currency. There were mints at Fatehpur and Lahore, others in Bahár, Bengal, and Gujarát. The coins of previous kings were called in, and were melted down whenever procurable ; counterfeiters of the Emperor's coin were punished capitally.

Finally, poor-houses were appointed ; and the

Emperor, according to Badaoni, used to frequent them in order that he might eat and drink with mendicant friars and be flattered by their praise and good wishes ! But of Badaoni's spirit we have, perhaps, seen enough, by this time, to form a just appraisement. He who could sacrifice the claims of private gratitude and friendship to the imaginary obligations of sectarian orthodoxy, cannot be a trustworthy historian for a reforming Emperor. Here is a view of Badaoni furnished by himself :—

In the month of February 1592 Badaoni wrote to Faizi complaining of Akbar's officers in Rohilkhand—where Badaoni lived—and saying that, for some offence given by him, the Emperor had refused to grant him an audience. Faizi upon this wrote a letter of remonstrance, so touching in its warmth and sweet simplicity that the Emperor handed it to Abul Fazl, with orders that it should be recorded in the memoir called *Akbar-náma*, on which Abul Fazl was at that time engaged.

“Healer of the broken-hearted !” thus pleads the honest poet, “Mulla Abdul Kádír (Badaoni) is a very able man . . . your slave has known him for nearly thirty-seven years. Besides being a person of deep learning he is a poet . . . no mere imitator, but an original thinker ; he knows [this and that in fact]. Notwithstanding that he possesses all these accomplishments he is contented and free from avarice, of equable temperament, of excellent morals and manners, but poor and with no fixed income. He is sincere and warm-hearted, and has confidence in Your Majesty's kindness.”

The man who was not ashamed to transcribe this flattering portrait of himself goes on to say—as if with some little sense of shame—“should anyone who reads

this observe that Faizi's regard and affection for me are but ill-requited by the harshness and severity that I have used in writing of him, especially since his death . . . I inquire, what could I do, seeing that the truth of religion is paramount to all other obligations, and my unfailing maxim is to make my love and hatred subservient to the cause of God ? ”

We shall have occasion in the next chapter to see the lengths to which the bigot carried his precious maxim, in describing the death-bed of the friend who thought him sincere and kindly, and could impute to him no fault but ill-luck.

With this explanation a few more extracts from Badaoni may close this chapter ; since, in his churlish way, he gives a picture of less questionable fidelity than the more friendly Abul Fazl. The Brahmins and other Hindu sages often had interviews, he tells us, with the Emperor. As they surpass other men in their moral and scientific writings,* they brought proofs—based on reason and evidence—for the truth of their own tenets. Hence His Majesty cast aside the Islamite revelations as touching resurrection and a future state. At the same time the missionaries from Europe affirmed the truth, and spread about the knowledge of the religion of Jesus.† On another side Birbal pointed out that the sun was a legitimate object of adoration, seeing that by his light and warmth he brings the fruits of the earth to perfection and supports the life of man. Hence Akbar adopted the sun's entrance into Aries—which took place on the 11th March O.S., the then date of the vernal equinox—as the first day of his year and the

* Badaoni was himself a competent Sanskrit Scholar.

† Some account of the controversies will be found in the *Dabistân*.

starting-point of the new Iláhi era. He prohibited the slaughter of cattle, because it was an abomination to the Hindus. "Instead of cows," sneers Badaoni, "they sacrifice good men." Fire-worshippers from Gujarát (the "Parsis") also attracted the Emperor's favourable notice and imparted their doctrines; and it was ordered that sacred fire should blaze in the palace perpetually, as one of the tokens of divine presence, a Hindu form of the same worship being kept up in the female apartments of the palace.

The Emperor Akbar is said to have entertained and expressed an opinion that the religion of Islám was only destined to endure a thousand years. Millennarian views were also held by orthodox Muslims, who expected the second advent to be preceded by the appearance of the Mahdi, or twelfth Imám (fabled to have disappeared in 879 A.D., and to be remaining in concealment till the fulness of time). The Emperor availed himself of these expectations, applying them to his own schemes. He ordered Maulána Ahmad to write the *Tárikh-i-Alfi*, or "Annals of the Millennium," and after the death of the Maulána—a physician of the Shia persuasion—he committed the editing of the work to the unwilling hands of Badaoni. The work appeared in A.H. 1000, or A.D. 1592. Badaoni represents it as a sign of Akbar's infatuation.

Other measures are noticed in the same contemptuous spirit to which allusion has been already made—such as the permission to sell wine, and the licensing of registered public women, the prohibition to kill beef, already mentioned, and the disfavour of bearded chins.

In Badaoni's summary, intentionally injurious or reluctantly favourable, we learn to see something of what had been the character of the reign up to the

date at which we have now arrived, and what it had effected for the country. It is only further needful to notice the complete change that had been introduced in the treatment of conquered enemies and rebels. Up to the time of Sher Sháh, if no later, these unfortunate victims of ambition had been invariably slaughtered, often with torture; while their families had been oppressed with all the miseries and humiliations of slavery. All this was now put a stop to. In the very beginning of the reign the enslaving of the women and children had been forbidden; Bairám, the first rebel, had been pardoned, his son was brought up by the Emperor and provided with an honourable and brilliant career. Similar mild treatment awaited all other enemies, whether Hindus, native Muslims, or recalcitrant Mughols; though the old practices were revived by Sháhjahán, as we shall see hereafter.

Such was Akbar's government in its palmy days. We have now to trace its not unworthy, if not always equally splendid, conclusion.

CHAPTER VI:

AKBAR : THIRD PERIOD. A.D. 1592-1605.

THE reforms of Akbar have an undying interest for posterity. Developing and carrying on what had been so wonderfully begun by Sher Sháh, he made the first great step towards consolidating Hindustan and forming that part of India into an empire and a nation. The ethnological division between the region where Aryan thought and feeling have made for themselves a home, and that vast remaining tract where manners and languages of another kind have maintained themselves, was (and it still is) so marked that the process did not go much beyond the Narbada river and the Vindhia range of mountains. But, north of these limits, a partial consolidation was effected, the exertions of the administrator completing the work of the soldier, and both being vigorously inspired by the personality of this extraordinary ruler.

That more was not effected has been already said, and hints have been afforded in the narrative as to the reason why. The power of a great man in harmony with his age is great ; greater, perhaps, than our most modern school of philosophy is willing to allow. But it is less effectual when the age—even if partly favourable—is of

a feeble and inorganized character, than when all the social machinery is in a proper state of preparation.

Akbar had no Parliament to register for permanent use and observance his articles on religion, and the other enactments of himself and his councillors. The Parliaments of his English contemporaries, Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, may not have been either representative or independent to the extent that modern theories of politics demand ; but the statutes recorded by them formed a permanent body of law, secular and religious, to which Akbar could find no parallel but the literary work of his friend Abul Fazl. Nor, when he had broken with the orthodox Musalmán Church, was there any hierarchy, or administrative machinery, to which the working of the system could be entrusted. Such things have existed in non-parliamentary European countries, notably in France under Louis XIV., and in modern Russia ; and however inferior as constitutional engines to what existed in England, these bureaucratic means were better than nothing. Now, in Akbar's India, there was absolutely nothing of the kind. Hence the details of his system died with him. The most permanent part of his work—after the national integration—was the destruction of the power of the Church. But that was by no means an unmixed advantage. * An arbitrary, bigoted, spiritual tyranny is, indeed, a just object of reprobation. Yet a blind physical tyranny is at least as bad. Where the one exists, it is best for the community that the other should exist too, each being a restraint and corrective to the other. After Akbar despotism ruled in Hindustan, only tempered by the brutal remedies of rebellion and regicide.

Some of the broader principles of Akbar's reforms have been already noticed. Further details will come

into their proper place when we have to speak of the publication of the *Ain*, or "Institutes," in the year 1597.

In 1592 Abul Fazl had been promoted to the rank of "*mansabdar* of two thousand," and took his place among the high *grandeės* of the Empire, while his brother—as we have seen—was sent on a political mission. The object of this mission was, apparently, to inquire into the conduct of the emigrant Prince of the Deccan, Burhán-ul-Mulk, who had a partially authorised sway in Gujarát; and also to defeat a possible combination between him and Rája 'Ali Khán, the independent ruler of Khándés. Abul Fazl alleges that complaints had reached the Court from Ahmadábád as to maladministration on the part of Burhán, and also that some apprehension was felt lest the two chiefs should join to invade Málwa. About the same time two other campaigns became necessary; one for the subjugation of Orissa, the other for the completion of the conquest of Kashmir. These, as already mentioned, were successful; and Faizi having returned with an unsatisfactory account of the state of matters in the Deccan, the Emperor went to Agra, and began to concentrate his whole attention upon the southern part of India. It was at first intended that the main army of the Deccan should be headed by the Emperor's third son, Sultán Daniyál, with the Khánkhánán as his chief officer or Atálik, while the armies of Málwa and Bengal co-operated from their respective quarters. The Emperor, having made these dispositions, returned to Lahore to await the termination of the rainy season. But before the time arrived he, for some reason that has not come down to us, recalled Daniyál—who was an incorrigible drunkard—and the work of organization devolved entirely on the Khán.

When the expedition at length started it was accompanied by Sultán Murád, the Emperor's second son, a dissolute young man in his twenty-third year. After some delays, caused by trouble between the Prince and the general, the army advanced upon Khándés. Rájá 'Ali submitted, and Khándés was annexed and re-granted as a fief to the Rájá, in accordance with Akbar's usual policy. The Rájá then joined the Imperial forces, and an advance upon Berár was made by the combined army.

Ahmadnagar, the then capital, was a place of strength, and was defended by a stout garrison, under the command of the heroic Chánd Bibi, sister of the refugee Burhán. But the Imperialists were tenacious; and their incessant salvos and mines disheartened the defenders so that they were ultimately led to capitulate. They were granted indulgent terms, and the principality was conferred upon Burhán's grandson. The boy was to rank as a feudatory with the title, since so famous in the Deccan, of Nizám-ul-Mulk.

While these things were taking place south of the Narbada, a useful acquisition accrued to the Empire on the extreme west. Kandahar, which is the most important outpost on the dangerous and vulnerable side of India that looks towards Persia and Turkestan, fell into Akbar's hands by sheer negotiation, and the political law which makes desirable objects gravitate towards prestige and good fortune.

These gains were balanced by a severe personal loss. The gentle Faizi—whatever may have been his ill-success as a diplomatist—was dear to the heart of Akbar. In the autumn of 1595 the poet sickened at Lahore. His illness was accompanied by head-symptoms, and was, perhaps, a form of pulmonary apoplexy. The

Emperor went to visit him, accompanied by a medical man. It was midnight; the patient was weak and speechless, with discoloured lips. Akbar gently raised the head of his friend, and said to Abul Fazl, who stood by, "What is this blackness?" Being told that Faizi had been spitting blood, the Emperor tried to rouse him to receive the attentions of the physician. The dying man could only cough—"barked in the Emperor's face," says Badaoni, who, according to his kind, saw a judgment in the freethinker's sufferings. Akbar tore off his turban and threw it on the ground in a passion of grief. All was in vain; he was not even recognised. Faizi died on the 5th October 1595. In the same year also passed away Nizám-ud-din Ahmad, the business-like author of the *Tabakát*, and Zain Khán, the Emperor's foster-brother, and companion-in-arms of the ill-starred Birbal.

Next year was remarkable for a failure of the periodical rains and a severe famine, such as is always produced by that calamity in a country like Hindustan, and which necessarily produced grievous suffering in mediæval times, owing to the want alike of sea-commerce and of land-traffic. Abkar did all that he knew, employing special commissioners, whose duty it was to visit all the afflicted districts and distribute relief. The sufferings of the people were nevertheless terrible. Cannibalism prevailed, the corpses lying about the roads and streets with no one to remove them. And then followed the natural sequel—a pestilence. The same year, 1596, also marks itself in many chronicles by an accident which went near to bring the reign to a premature close; for Abkar, while hunting near Lahore, was charged by a bewildered antelope, which gored him in the abdomen, inflicting a wound by which he was laid

up for some time. His illness lasted a month, according to one historian, causing consternation throughout the whole of Hindustan. Nor was the year devoid of more public events. The insurgents in the Deccan chafed under the capitulation of Ahmadnagar, and made an obstinate attack on Prince Murád, who commanded in that region, aided by the Khánkhánán, and by Sháh Rukh Mirza, a distant relation of the Emperor's, to whom he had given one of his daughters in marriage. The forces of the enemy were commanded by an Abyssinian mercenary, under whom was a confederate host consisting of the armies of three provinces. It is plain, even from the one-sided accounts of the historians, that the Imperial troops were outnumbered, their leaders inharmonious, and their successes for some time limited to the defence of the ground which they occupied. The chief and final action was on the bank of the Godávári river, and Rája 'Ali of Khándés—who had justified the Emperor's clement policy towards him by faithful service—was slain, along with thirty-five officers and five hundred men. Night fell, and the combatants separated, each side in ignorance of what had befallen the other. When the day broke, the Imperialists, parched with thirst, made a push for a neighbouring stream, and the enemy gave way, leaving their guns behind them.

This state of things appeared to the Emperor so alarming that he took very decided measures. The incompetent Prince was recalled from the army in 1597, and appointed to the less difficult duty of representing royalty in Málwa. To guard against friction in the execution of this change Akbar took up his own quarters at Agra, and deputed Abul Fazl to act as his deputy with the army, and bring the Prince to Court, or send him thither if he found his own prolonged presence required

by the state of affairs. At the same time the Emperor sent another emissary, named Miran, to act for him with Bahádur, son of the deceased Rája of Khándés, while he himself prepared for a progress into Málwa, under colour of a hunting-party.

It seems to have been the beginning of the year 1599 when Abul Fazl reached the Deccan. He found that the fort of Daulatábád had fallen, and that the wretched Murád was drinking himself to death. Kharla and Násik fell soon after his arrival, and the armies of the south having melted away, the toils were closing round the heroic Regent, Chánd Bibi, who threw herself into Ahmadnagar, which her officers prepared to defend once more.

We may, perhaps, be pardoned for suspending the narrative at this point to say a few words about the literary labours of Abul Fazl. These were fortunately all but completed at the very moment when he departed for this duty, from which he was never to return to Court.

The *Ain Akbari* appears to have been published in 1597. The portion that has most attracted the notice of the English is, naturally, that which relates to the Emperor's revenue administration. But the work is much more than a fiscal manual; it is a history, a gazetteer, almost an encyclopædia. Taken together with the *Akbar-námá* it forms three bulky volumes, of which the first two contain the lives and reigns of Taimur and his descendants, ending with the year 1602 A.D., the third being that which, in common with other modern writers, we have called the "Institutes," and which brings the description of the Empire and its administration down to the time of the author's departure from Hindustán. In the First Book he treats of the House-

hold, the Treasury, the Mint; tables of prices; the arts of peace and war; the regulations regarding elephants, camels, horses and oxen; notes on etiquette, flavours and perfumes; and the establishments of the public service. In the Second Book we have an account of the military regulations and official hierarchy, education, navigation, and the chase. Among these are interspersed anecdotes of the Emperor's sayings and doings on the various subjects dealt with, together with recipes for cookery. It is not till we reach the Third Book that we come to Finance. This book begins with the account of the computations of time in use among various nations; then come chapters on tribute and taxation, on measurement of land, and of the "settlements" of land-revenue made by Todar Mal. The Fourth Book contains a detailed description of India, and of various subjects of interest connected with the population. The fifth is a summary of Akbar's teaching.*

We return to the campaign in the Deccan, where Abul Fazl was now employed, and whither, under his advice, the Emperor was slowly proceeding. On his way he received a shock, for which he may have been in some degree prepared, in the announcement that his son Murád had died of delirium tremens. This event, which occurred on the 1st May 1599, was the precursor of other family troubles which seem to show that this Eastern Charlemagne was less attentive to the management of his own family than to that of the Empire. Daniyál was sent to take his brother's place as the nominal head of the army of the Deccan; the Khánkhánán and Sháh Rukh being, as before, the actual military

* See note at end of chapter.

chiefs. Salim, the Crown Prince, of whose share in public affairs we now hear for the first time, was sent against Udaipur, accompanied by Mán Singh, but, as we shall see presently, he ere long went off to Allahabad, where he was guilty of acts of independence savouring of rebellion. The Emperor himself proceeded, by way of Gwalior, to Ujain.

It has been mentioned above that Rájá 'Ali Khán, who had been ruler of Khándés, was slain in the battle on the Godávári. His son and successor Bahádur, to whom the Emperor despatched the agent named Miran, was a grown-up baby of thirty, who had passed the whole of his life shut up in the fort of Asirgarh. In consequence of this 'strange education—which we are told by a chronicler was customary in the family—the new ruler was unable to suit himself to his position. He plunged recklessly into debauchery; he showed neither gratitude nor obedience to the Emperor; he would not wait on Prince Daniyál, nor did his craven spirit entertain one thought of avenging his father's death. The representations of the agent produced little effect upon him; he spoke vaguely of going to see the Emperor, of sending him offerings; pretended shyness, and ended in doing nothing. On hearing of these things from his agent, the Emperor was greatly irritated, and sent the Paymaster-General, Farid Bukhári, to bring the young Bahádur to Court, by fair means or by force, as circumstances might require.

With a select force, and accompanied by a number of young men of rank who served as volunteers, Farid set out, with instructions, if necessary, to besiege and reduce the fort of Asirgarh, where Bahádur was residing. The chronicler, Sarhindi, who was in Farid's suite, exhausts the resources of his pen in the descrip-

tion of this fort, and sums up by saying that experts who had been in Europe declared that there was not such a strong place upon the face of the earth. We know that Colonel Stevenson took the place in 1808; but it was strong enough to resist Akbar for eleven months, being situated on a bluff, scarped on all sides, and rising 850 feet above the surrounding level. There are only two approaches—one, from the north, by a ravine, and well guarded; the other, from the south-west, by a steep stair with five gates. The area of the enceinte is sixty acres, the longest face being no less than 1,100 yards in length. There are ravines on all sides, affording cover for assailants who once reach them. But Farid, says Abul Fazl, sate down some five miles from this imposing fastness; and his act of caution displeased Akbar so that he sent Abul Fazl to supersede Farid in the chief command of the province of Khándés, and moved his own camp towards Burhanpur, at the foot of the Satpura hills, from whence he could direct operations. Abul Fazl attempted negotiation. The foolish Bahádur was reminded of the defeat that had already once befallen the confederate princes of the Deccan, and of the unseemliness of his having to be attacked by the Government whose forces were on their way to avenge his father's death. But Bahádur could not yet bring himself to make a decided submission. He had a strong fort, a large army, and a vast number of guns, with an almost inexhaustible supply of stores, ordnance, and provisions. So the place had to be invested, and the siege directed by the Emperor in person, Farid resuming his ordinary duties as Paymaster. An unsuccessful sortie by the garrison led to the capture of a hill by which the fortress was commanded, and a grievous pestilence broke out in the crowded space

where, in addition to a multitude of human beings, there were no less than one hundred thousand cattle.

While the fort of Asir was in these straits, news came of the success of the second siege of Ahmadnagar. Chánd Bibi was for observing the treaty that had been made with Abul Fazl ; but there was a strong party that was hostile to her, and she was ultimately murdered. Meanwhile the siege was being pressed by Prince Daniyál and the Khán. After a six-months' leaguer, during which the device of mining had been constantly met by successful countermines on the part of the defenders, the Khán succeeded in blowing up a bastion with some seventy yards of wall. A simultaneous attack took place on another side, where an entrance was effected by escalade, while the Khán and his stormers assaulted the breach. The first slaughter was considerable, but none of the garrison were killed in cold blood. The young titular was sent to Akbar as a captive.

The news of the fall of Ahmadnagar was carried into Asirgarh by emissaries who had visited the Emperor with negotiations. These tidings combined with the ravages of the epidemic to induce Bahádur's people to incline to a surrender. Humane terms being granted, the gate was opened, and Akbar entered Asir about the end of the hot season of 1600. "The soldiery," writes Abul Fazl, "submitted peacefully, and the peasantry applied themselves to the labour of the fields."

About the same time Bengal was again disturbed. Mán Singh, who was the governor of that province, had—as we have seen—been deputed to Ajmir to assist the Heir Apparent, Salim, in the chastisement of the still recalcitrant Rána of Udaipur. As Salim wanted to go off elsewhere on his own account, Mán Singh had to remain at Ajmir and do the work there alone. In his absence

certain Afgháns, of the old leaven, broke out in Bengal, and defeated some of the local officers, who were Hindus. Mán Singh tried to persuade the Prince to take up the matter, but he confined himself to attending to his own selfish interests.

Berár, too, was still unsettled ; and the Khán was put in command, with his head-quarters at Ahmadnagar ; Abul Fazl being stationed at Násik. Thus passed the year 1601, the Emperor returning to Agra, while Khandés was placed under Prince Daniyál, in honour of whom the name of the province was changed to “Dándés.”

And now we get our last glimpse of the hero in his loved home at Fatehpur, before the final catastrophe which wrecked his happiness and, ere long, concluded his existence.

On one of the jambs of the *Buland Darwáza*—or “Sublime Porte”—of the great quadrangle of the palace, the traveller may still read the inscription recording the Emperor’s return from the Asir campaign ; of which the purport is as follows :—

“His Majesty the King of Kings, whose Court is a Heaven ; the Shadow of God, Jalál-ud-din Muhamad Akbar ; the Emperor ! He conquered the Deccan and Dándés—which was formerly Khándés—in the *Iláhi** year 46, corresponding to the *Hijri* year 1010.” After some amount of what, to our ears, would seem vaunting, the strain is modulated into a pathetic minor : “Said Jesus (on whom be peace), ‘The world is a bridge ; pass over it, but build no home there.’ He who hopes for an hour hopes for eternity. The world

* By the *Iláhi* year is meant the era of the new faith, which was to date from Akbar’s accession. The year, therefore, is the 46th of the reign, beginning in A.D. 1600.

is but an hour ; spend it in devotion ; the rest is unseen."

A startling contrast to the convivial maxim of the jovial Bábar's fountain. But the much-tried, weary Akbar had already seen and suffered enough to realise that melancholy saying of Sádi :—

The world, O my brother, remaineth to none.

He was soon to learn a sterner lesson than any that had yet been read him of the perishable nature of structures built upon the short bridge of life.

It has been seen above that Abul Fazl had been nominated to the government of Násik, in the Deccan. Before, however, he could join that appointment, he found himself obliged to repair to the head-quarters of the Khánkhánán, and was thence sent against the chiefs of Bijápur, who were joining a new confederacy of the Deccan formed by the well-known Abyssinian adventurer, Malik Ambar. The Khán's son fought an indecisive battle against Ambar ; and Abul Fazl's son encountered with success a prince of Berár who had taken part in the rebellion.

But, while this was the state of things in the Deccan, Akbar, whose judgment and character were becoming impaired, had made up his mind to overlook all Salim's irregularities, his drunkenness and personal misconduct, his disobedience of the order to operate against Udaipur, his appropriation of the revenues in Allahabad, and his general insubordination. Then was seen what a terrible danger those incur who put their trust in princes. Abul Fazl, as a statesman, had viewed Salim's behaviour with grave displeasure, and had made very unfavourable reports to the Emperor as to the conduct and character of the Crown Prince. The faithful friend and servant

was now to be sacrificed to cement the reconciliation between the mighty kinsmen. Abul Fazl, while operating on the Godávári, suddenly received letters of recall. He instantly obeyed, and set out for Agra attended by 'Asad Beg, of Kazwin, author of the *Wakáiya*, and other officers. On arriving at Sironj he resolved to leave the bulk of his escort there, under 'Asad Beg's command; partly, apparently, that they might rest after some forced marching, partly that they might overawe the Bundela marauders of the neighbourhood and restore order to the country round. Abul Fazl himself went on, careless and unsuspecting, until he reached the Sarai of Bárár, about half-way between Sironj and Gwalior. Here he slept, though not before he had received a fruitless warning from a mendicant, who came to him as he alighted and told him he was in danger.

It has been said that the neighbourhood was infested by Bundela marauders. Their ringleader was named Nar (or Bir) Singh Deo, and he was enough of a politician besides to be a worshipper of the rising sun. By cutting off the ill-guarded minister he could at once please the Crown Prince and gratify his own lust of blood and plunder. He accordingly collected a large party of armed followers, whom he secreted behind the walls of the Sarai. When day broke—it was Friday, the 13th August 1602—the minister rose, and, having bathed and dressed, got on horseback and set forth, accompanied by Yákub Khán, Gadai Khán, an Abyssinian named Jabbár, and some other mounted companions. They had not ridden far ere one of the company, who had lagged behind, galloped up and reported to the minister that Nar Singh,* with five hundred

* Blochmann calls him Bir Singh, but Dowson insists upon the "Nar."

mounted men clad in mail, was following. It was too true; the marauders had fallen on the baggage, and seized the elephant that carried the standard and drum, which were Abul Fazl's insignia of office. Gadai Khán and a few companions turned round to attack them, having bid the minister to seek safety in flight. Their resistance was soon overborne; they were ridden down and slain, and the ruffians quickly caught up the minister, whom one of the party transfixes with a spear. He fell to the ground, but the Abyssinian was able for a moment to remove him out of the road. It was, however, but a moment, for then Nar Singh came up, and, stopping his horse, sprang off, went to the spot where the minister was lying, and raised his head upon his knee. Both the minister and Jabbár probably used violent language, and Jabbár appears to have laid about him to some purpose with his sword. He was immediately slain, and the minister's head was dropped by Nar Singh, whose followers at once separated it from the body. It is asserted by a contemporary that it was sent to the Crown Prince; and it is certain that the Prince, after he had succeeded to the throne, admitted and justified his having inspired and originated the murder.

Whether or no the Emperor became aware of his eldest son's share in this atrocity, we may well call the death of this faithful and virtuous servant and friend the crowning sorrow of his declining days. As Akbar, during the short remnant of his reign, pursued the actual murderer with unrelenting, though vain, tenacity, and even threatened to cut 'Asad Beg to pieces for having remained behind at Sironj, while he continued to treat Salim with favour and indulgence, it may, perhaps, be assumed that he was not fully informed of

his son's complicity. But the horror of the tragedy was still supreme, and as such the Emperor, after forty-seven years of labour, felt it. He said: "If Salim wanted the Crown, he should have taken me," and then threw off a couplet to the following effect:—

When, full of zeal, my Shaikh to meet me came,
To kiss my feet without a head or foot he came.

Sully was not a truer or more trusty minister to Henri IV. than Abul Fazl was to Akbar. When the negotiations were going on that preceded the siege of Asirgarh, the futile Bahádur offered him presents, in the hope of procuring his good word with the Emperor. Abul Fazl declined to keep the presents, and, in returning them, informed the donor that the favour of His Majesty had so satisfied his mind as to extinguish all desire to receive gifts from others. He was not only honest and incorruptible, but brave and skilful in arms, conscientious and uncompromising as a thinker, and an incomparable letter-writer, after the Oriental fashion. As a native writer who was far from approving all his opinions says, "He was a man of lofty spirit, who desired to live at peace with all men." His habits of business were methodical and energetic. His temper was generous and forgiving. His *Life of Akbar* has been blamed for its unvaried and excessive panegyric. But it must be remembered both that the literature of the East is a school of hyperbole, and also that Abul Fazl was a true hero-worshipper and Akbar a true hero. We have it on the authority of that consummate scholar, the late Principal Blochmann, that "no native writer has ever accused him of flattery." He was the first statesman who ever professed the principles of toleration.*

* For Abul Fazl's good-feeling towards the Hindus and large toleration, see the *4th*. (Gladwin, vol. ii. p. 284 ff., and 294.)

That Akbar felt deeply on the subject of Abul Fazl's death we are assured by the author who, at the Imperial command, carried on the *Akburnáma*, the only book that the deceased had left unfinished. But the Emperor was not to enjoy the fierce compensation of gratified vengeance. Nar Singh, though he led a hunted life for the next year or two, suffered no losses that were not made up to him in the next reign. His princely prompter, Akbar either could not or would not criminate. He deputed a wife-cousin—the widow of Bairám, subsequently married to the Emperor himself, and mother of the late Prince Murád—to visit Salim at Allahabad, and bring him up to Agra. When he complied, and was on the way to the capital, the old dowager Miriám Makáni, the Emperor's mother—now in the last year of her long life*—went out several stages to meet him. Salim was received at Court as if he had never offended, and was officially acknowledged as Heir Apparent. An inscription recording this event, with the year 1011 H., is still to be seen on a marble throne in the Agra palace. But it must not be supposed that the savage Prince was tamed, or made really penitent. Take his own recorded words :—

Certain vagabonds had caused misunderstanding between me and my father. The bearing of the Shekh (Abul Fazl) convinced me that if he were allowed to arrive at Court he would do everything in his power to augment the indignation of my father against me. . . . Under this apprehension I negotiated with Nar Singh Deo, whose country lay on the Shekh's way from the Deccan. I invited him to destroy Shekh Abul Fazl on his journey, promising him favour and reward. . . . Although my father was exasperated at the catastrophe, yet the result was that I was able to visit him without anxiety, and by degrees his sorrow abated, and he treated me with kindness.

It is impossible to perceive in such language any signs

* She was born in 1525, before Bábar's invasion.

of contrition, and difficult to avoid a suspicion that the Emperor was not altogether in the dark.

Salim's good behaviour and consequent restoration to favour were, however, not of long duration. He was again ordered to proceed against the Rána of Udaipur, Mán Singh being still away in Bengal. Once more the Prince, who never showed much stomach for danger or hard work, made difficulties. He represented that the troops were not prepared, and made extravagant demands, both in respect of men and of treasure. Akbar was naturally annoyed, and "gave him leave to return to Allahabad," adding, however, that he might present himself at Court whenever he felt loyally disposed.

Daniyál, Salim's younger brother, proved no less backward. Ordered to proceed against Bijapur, he alleged illness—perhaps with reason, for, like his brother, he was a deep drinker. Mán Singh continued his useful services in Bengal. So opened the year 1603.

In the course of that year the Bijapur Prince submitted, on the persuasions of an imperial envoy, and gave his daughter to be married to Sultán Daniyál, who proceeded to Ahmadnagar to meet his bride, at the head of five thousand horse. About the same time Salim lost the wife of his youth; she was sister of Mán Singh, and mother of Salim's eldest son, Sultán Khusru. Her end was a sad one, being caused by an overdose of opium, swallowed in an access of low spirits. Salim's habits and temper were much exasperated by this trouble. He became so furious, says a chronicler of the time, that people in his presence lost their speech from terror. The slightest offences were met by the severest punishments, and pardon was unheard of. It is probable that his health, both of mind and body, was severely affected,

and that by excessive use of wine and opium as anodynes he made himself worse.

Akbar determined that he would go in person to Allahabad, and use a father's influence ; but before he had got far on his way he was recalled to Agra by news of his mother's death. He discharged the duties of a mourning son, and conveyed the body to Dohli, where it was laid by that of Humaiun. Salim, however, was now seriously alarmed ; he came spontaneously to Agra, and was there imprisoned " in a bath," says a Persian history, perhaps in the part of the palace that went by that name. After twelve days he was released : and this punishment, coupled with medical treatment, appears to have been followed by marked improvement in the Prince's conduct. This must have been late in 1603, as the 29th August of that year is the date of the death of the Empress Mother, Miriám Makáni.

From 'Asad Beg. who got over the disgrace and danger attending his supposed abandonment of Abul Fazl, and was transferred to the Emperor's own household, it would seem that all these sorrows had a bad effect on Akbar. He became subject to fits of irresponsible and ungovernable anger, such as are seldom found in men of heroic mould, and which were wholly foreign to his nature in his best days. On one occasion, when returning from a message, 'Asad perceived such signs of fury in the " royal countenance," that he feared immediate death at his hands. On another, when Akbar was awaiting the post from the Deccan one evening, he went suddenly into his throne-room, and found that the attendant whose duty it was to light up the saloon had curled himself up at the foot of the throne, and gone to sleep there. Akbar, on the spur of the moment, had the wretched servant thrown out of

window, and he was dashed to pieces by the fall. Then, turning to his chamberlain, he overwhelmed him with reproach and insult, and sent him off then and there to the seat of war, bestowing his post on the fortunate equerry, 'Asad, who happened to be at hand. Such are the sad possibilities of arbitrary rule.

In the beginning of 1604 a hot pursuit of Nar Singh, the murderer, was instituted, in the course of which the fine old town of Orcha, in Bundelkhand, was stormed and occupied by the Imperial troops, a thousand of whom died there of the local fever.

In the month of April Prince Daniyál died, in the thirty-third year of his age. The Khánkhánán had put him under a sort of friendly restraint, but his servants smuggled liquor past the sentries in the barrel of a matchlock.*

No further public events remain to be recorded. The Round Table of Hindustán was broken up. Of all Akbar's old comrades only one or two remained. The Khánkhánán, Bairám's son, was away in the Deccan. Mirza Aziz Koka, son of the Emperor's foster-father, whose title of Khán 'Azam he inherited, was with the Emperor at Agra,† as also was Mán Singh, nephew of his wife and brother-in-law of the heir-apparent. Salim himself was there, with his son Khusru, whose mother had lately committed suicide. The Emperor's health was now evidently failing, and intrigues began to be formed as to the succession, Mán Singh favouring the claims of Khusru, his sister's son, in which he was supported by the Khán 'Azam; though Akbar, as the

* The infatuated Prince called this piece *Janáza*, a Persian word signifying "funeral-bier," so well was he aware of his doom.

† The Koka's rudeness and insubordination had often tried Akbar's patience. But he said: "Between me and Aziz there is a river of milk which I cannot pass."

inscriptions are sufficient to show, had recognised Salim as his destined successor.

In 1605 'Asad was sent to collect tribute in the Deccan. A few days after his departure there was a combat between two elephants, for which preparation had been made for some time previous. 'Asad was unable to stay for the elephant-fight, a circumstance on which he afterwards congratulated himself. The day at last arrived; we may fancy the cloisters about the Am-Khás filled with privileged spectators, the Emperor, with his son and grandsons, looking on from a balcony. The infuriated animals encountered with a mighty shock; some rule of the sport came in question; the servants of Salim and of his son Khusru took sides; an uproar arose. The Emperor fell into one of those passions of rage to which he had now become liable; his physicians, in alarm, took him to his room and tended him, but it was too late. The worn-out system was not to be restored by any of the medical resources of the place and time. The Emperor fell very sick, even unto death, as was soon perceived. As he lay there, assiduously tended by Salim's younger son Khurram, destined afterwards to become one of the greatest sovereigns of his illustrious race, the dissensions of the candidates and their supporters became more and more violent. A plot to seize Salim as he left his father's chamber was discovered, and the Prince, in alarm, forebore the intended visit, and shut himself up in his camp outside the fort. The Khán 'Azam and Mán Singh now held a meeting, at which it was openly proposed to set aside Salim and place Khusru upon the throne. But an illustrious Mughal, named Sáýid Khán, tore the web that was being spun. Addressing the assembly, he declared that the scheme was opposed to the laws and customs of the

Chaghtai tribe; and the objection was accepted as conclusive. Sáyid Khán rose and left the room, followed by Farid, the paymaster-general, and many others; and the baffled conspirators departed to their various posts. Some of the cooler heads repaired to the Crown Prince, whom they hastened to reassure; they were only just in time, for they found him preparing his barge for flight. He was persuaded to postpone his departure. Presently he was joined by Farid and other chiefs, and their attendants began to beat their drums. Salim immediately stopped the noisy demonstration, on account of his father's condition; but he held a *levée* all the afternoon, at the end of which the Khán 'Azam presented himself. Salim prudently overlooked the past and received him graciously. Meanwhile, Mán Singh and Khusru prepared to depart for Bengal, while Salim, accompanied by the principal nobles, proceeded to the Emperor's bed-side. On arriving, he knelt at his father's feet. Akbar, opening his heavy eye-lids, ordered that he should be invested with the robes of sovereignty. The bystanders did homage, and the next moment Akbar bowed his head in death. The date of these events is October 15th-16th, 1605 (old style).

Before the close of Akbar's reign great progress had been made towards the unification of the Empire of Hindustán. The power of the Government was supreme from the boundaries of Balkh and Badakshán to the Bay of Bengal, and from the banks of the Brahmaputra river to the farther borders of Berár. The revenues amounted to about ten *krors* of rupees. The bulk of this was derived from the land; Akbar having, as we saw, abrogated the poll-tax and the pilgrim-tax, with, it is said, no less than fifty-eight minor items. The basis of the land-revenue was the recognition that the

agriculturist was the owner of the soil, the State being entitled to the surplus produce, a stage which most societies that are destined to endure are obliged to pass through. Sometimes an official or a Court favourite obtains an alienation of the State's demand on a township, or group of townships; but the grant, even if declared to be perpetual, is usually treated as temporary, in the sense that it is liable to be resumed at the death of the grantee, or at the demise of the Crown.

That being the normal conception in systems like that of the Muslims in Hindustán, the agriculturists—especially if they were Hindus—were *tailléables et corvéables à merci*. It was Sher Sháh who first among those rulers perceived the benefit that might be expected from leaving a definite margin between the State's demand and the expenses of cultivation. The determination of this margin, and the recognition of the person who should be secured in its enjoyment, formed the basis of that system which, under the name of "settlement," still prevails in most parts of India.

Todar Mal brought these principles from the office of Sher Sháh to that of Akbar, where he trained a body of accountants, by whom the Domesday Book of the Empire was prepared in the Persian character. This measure was a potent agent in the work of consolidation, in which the statesmen of that era found their useful and peculiar task. Hence, too, it came to pass that Abul Fazl was enabled to furnish complete rent-rolls of the provinces, along with the account of the revenue-system that he presented to Persian scholars in his great work. The following will probably be found a sufficient summary of that system to satisfy the curiosity of the general reader.

A fixed standard of mensuration having been adopted,

the land was surveyed. It was then classified, according as it was waste, fallow, or under crop. The last class was taken as the basis of assessment, that which produced cereals, vetches, or oil-seeds being assessed to pay one-third of the average gross produce to the State, and the other two-thirds being left to the cultivators. But, as Akbar endeavoured to introduce cash-payments for his establishments, an attempt was made to substitute collection in specie in the case of such as were able to make payment in that form. Therefore indigo, and some other articles raised for the market, were assessed in money, the rate of one-third being maintained. This was a complete departure from the law of Islám, for it made no difference between the revenue raised from Muslims and that raised from unbelievers. Sher Sháh's demand was in no case to be exceeded.

It is very noticeable that Akbar added to his policy of union the equally important principle of continuity of system. As little breach as could be made occurred between Sher Shah's administration and that of Akbar.

With regard to payments in cash, it is to be noted that the *Ain* contains a scale of pay for almost every rank, down to that of a simple musketeer. Some of the high vassals, no doubt, were paid—wholly or in part—by territorial assignments, which they were directly interested in diverting to their own purposes. This species of peculation is not opposed to Eastern morality, and can never be finally extirpated under Asiatic rule. In Sháhjahán's reign it had recurred to such an extent that nearly three-quarters of the entire land-revenue was lost to the Exchequer. It was, however, partially represented by the horse and foot soldiers who followed the different grandees in war; and, so far as these were a real useful force, it was a relief to the budget. But, in

Akbar's time, there was an honest effort made to reduce these irregular contingents and substitute cash for the fiefs assigned for their support. The Imperial forces were always paid in specie, the horses of the cavalry being carefully branded; and thus there was created a standing professional army, at once the symbol of civilisation and its potent instrument.

Enough has, perhaps, been said to show the character of Akbar and his administration. The people must have entered upon a period of comparative rest and comfort under a ruler who sympathised with their beliefs and prejudices, so far, at least, as they were not anti-social.* Akbar did this, but he did more. He was a man of action as much as he was a man of theory. Not content with warring against the bigots and fanatics of the Church in which he had been bred, he aimed at securing to the peasant the power of enjoying his property and benefiting by the fruit of his labours. The needy husbandman was furnished with advances, repayable on easy terms. The assessments above mentioned, when once made, were assured for nineteen years; and, after the twenty-fourth year of the reign, the aggregate collections of the past ten years having been added together and divided by ten, the future collections were made on the basis of this decennial average. The laws and literature of the people were, at the same time, studied, and their most famous and favourite books translated into the language of the ruling class.

* Akbar prohibited the rite of *Sati* (widow-burning), and interposed on one occasion, at the peril of his life, to prevent the consummation of such an act which occurred as he happened to be passing by.

CHAPTER VII.

JAHÁNGIR. A.D. 1605-27.

THE first thought of Salim after closing his father's eyes was to prevent the departure of Mán Singh and of Sultán Khusru. They were just about taking boat for Bengal when Mádhu Singh, Mán Singh's brother, came to them from the new Emperor and persuaded them to throw themselves upon His Majesty's indulgence. A gracious answer having been returned to their prayer for pardon, they repaired to Court next morning, when the Emperor embraced his son and dismissed him to his quarters. The body of Akbar was then conveyed to Sikandra, where it was laid in a tomb that had been commenced some time before, and several days were devoted to mourning for him. At length arrived the day fixed for the coronation; and Salim, entering the fort by the water-gate, distributed largesse and ascended the throne of his father by the title of Nur-ud-din, Muhamad Jahángir. In commemoration of this event an inscription was cut upon the sand-stone panel of the guard-room in the Dehli gate of the fort, where it is still to be seen; ending with the prayer, "May our Sháh Jahángir be the Bádsháh of the World. 1014."

The chief control of the household was conferred upon a Kábuli named Zamáná Beg, with a *mansab* of

1,500, and the title of Mahábat Khán; this man had been an *ahdi*, or exempt, and attached to the new Emperor while still Crown Prince.

Jahángir at the same time promoted another faithful friend of his earlier days, Sharíf, son of Khwája Abdul-samad, who had been master of Akbar's mint at Fatehpur. Sharif is described in the Emperor's Memoirs as "at once my brother and friend, my son and companion." He was made a *mansabdár* of 2,000, and Premier, or *Amir-ul-Amra*. Nar Singh, the murderer of Abul Fazl, was at the same time made a grandee "of three thousand."

Having paid these tributes to friendship, Jahángir turned to business. He gave orders that the dependants of the late Emperor should be invited to apply for grants of land. He also made some other arrangements which look well enough on paper, but which do not seem to have had much practical effect. Elliot has been at the pains to show by evidence the illusory nature of these "Twelve Institutes"; and a summary of his paper on the subject will be found at the end of this chapter. A chain, or bell-rope, was at the same time put up outside the palace wall, by means of which oppressed persons were to ring up the Emperor at any hour of the day or night. But few would venture on such a liberty who were acquainted with Jahángir's character.

We have already had some glimpses into this. Sultán Salim had been the child of miracle. Tradition relates that the daughter of Amber was childless until Akbar, in the fourteenth year of his reign, left her in charge of Shaikh Salim, the anchorite of Sikri, when going on pilgrimage from Agra to Ajmir. On his return he found that the holy man's prayers had been heard, and that a child was expected. In due time the babe was born

and was named after his spiritual parent Šalim, while his pet name was "Shaikhu Bāba." His wet-nurse was the wife of the Saint's son. Born and bred in such conditions, the boy grew up idle, wilful, superstitious, and ignorant of life. Like his brothers he was a drunkard; unlike them, he was careful of himself and capable of control when he saw that control was essential to his own interests. The *Memoirs* which he left behind him show him to have been neither wanting in intelligence nor devoid of a sort of lazy good-nature; but his arbitrariness was such that no man could depend upon his conduct. He was often quite unscrupulous in gaining his immediate ends, though incapable of a far-sighted or sustained design. His portrait conforms to the rest of the evidence, and gives the impression of an indolent self-indulgent man, without the desire to be good or the energy to be actively evil.

At the time of his accession he was in his thirty-eighth year; and even the anxiety of the past few days, and the relief and gratification of the result, were powerless to alter his natural and acquired tendencies. Akbar, though erroneously represented by historians as having died in the faith, had made no arrangements for the revival of Islām; and his successor (though incapable of following his father's full policy) left matters in *statu quo antè*. Blochmann has shown (*Ain*, p. 212) that the "Divine Faith" died with its founder. But the spirit of toleration went on. The solar year was maintained, the remission of the taxation on the Hindus was expressly renewed, as were also the old Tartar ceremony of prostration before the sovereign, and other unorthodox customs of Court.

But this fool's paradise was soon to be disturbed. Six months after the coronation, Khusru left the palace

under pretence of visiting his grandfather's tomb at Sikandra. In April 1606 he departed with fifty horsemen. Word was brought of his flight by the Premier noble, Sharif, as the Emperor was lounging in his private apartments. "Should I mount and pursue him?" he asked languidly. "With your Majesty's permission, I will do so," replied the Premier; "but let me know clearly what is to be done if he refuses to return." "Do what you have to do," was Jahángir's answer; "sovereignty knows no ties of kin."

Armed with this *carte blanche* the Premier departed. Scarcely, however, had he left the presence before the Emperor withdrew his trust, and substituted Farid, the Paymaster-General, who collected a number of *mansabdárs* and *ahdis*,* and set off in the direction of the Punjáb, whither it was understood that the fugitive Prince had proceeded. We hear little more of Sharif during the rest of the reign.

Next morning the Emperor resolved on joining the expedition. Arrived at Sikandra he halted, and prayed awhile by his father's grave, after which he advanced on Dehli. Meanwhile, Khusru was joined by some turbulent men, and marched rapidly towards Lahore, plundering the country as he went. The officer in charge of Pánipat was a brave loyalist, named Diláwar Khán. He heard of the Prince's coming, and proceeded by forced marches to Lahore, which he reached in time to throw himself into the city with a small following, and made some hasty preparations for its defence. Two days later Khusru arrived and began the siege, stimulating the zeal of his men by a promise of the sack and plunder of the place. Soon the Imperial army

* Officers and exempts.

approached, and Khusru was obliged to draw off his men and make an effort to defend the fords of the Beás, two marches from Lahore. The forces joined battle at Bhaironwál, half-way between Jalandar and Amritsir.

Farid's van-guard was formed by a party of Bárha Sayyids, a noble tribe who are still powerful in Upper India. Though not more than sixty in number, they encountered the enemy bravely, and were cut to pieces in their charge against fifteen hundred men. But the shock had broken the enemy, who were routed by the main body of Farid's army. Nearly four hundred of them were killed, the siege of Lahore was raised, and Khusru fled to the banks of the Chenáb, followed by the stauncher of his adherents, Hindustánis and Afgháns. Jahángir was at dinner in his camp when he heard of the commencement of the action. Hastily swallowing a morsel of food, he mounted and galloped towards the scene of operations, followed helter-skelter by an escort. Halting at the bridge of Gobindwál, he heard the result of the action. He at once instituted a hot pursuit; and Khusru was taken prisoner and brought into camp after some days. The Emperor was resting in a garden when Khusru was led before him in fetters, between two of his chief advisers. The latter were enclosed in raw skins and led through the camp seated on asses, with their faces to the tail; the Prince was sent into close arrest.

Thus ended a serious adventure, in which the Emperor exhibited unwonted energy and met with his reward. Then followed the meting out of gifts and distinctions to friends, and the exemplary punishment of foes. Farid was made governor of the Subah of Gujarát, and ennobled by the title of Murtaza Khán; faithful chiefs received estates; the leading companions

of the Prince were impaled on a double row of stakes leading from the camp to the city, and Khusru himself was slowly conducted along the ghastly avenue that he might witness the slow agony of his deluded followers. He was then sent back into confinement.

The Emperor proposed returning to Agra, "leaving Khusru," as he says, "to the visitations of shame, and the vigilant custody of Diláwar Khán." But the Emperor's repose was not long. Hearing of Kandahár being invested by some Persian enemies, he resolved to send a force to its relief, while he proceeded in person to Kábul.

The exact dates of this reign are difficult—almost impossible—of verification. In two separate versions of Jahángir's autobiography we have irreconcilable days and months, neither of which two sets agrees with those given by the chronicler Mutamad Khán, who is our main alternative author. We must, therefore, content ourselves if we can identify the years, although, even as to these, there is occasionally some confusion, owing to the practice of using a solar and lunar year simultaneously.

Jahángir took his pleasure, throughout the year 1606, in Kashmir and Kábul, returning to Agra in the beginning of 1607. But an event was taking place at the same time, in a distant part of the Empire, that was to have a great influence on the Emperor's future life, little as he may have known it. About the time when the four-sided debating-room was first opened at Fatehpur, an adventurer from Persia, named Mirza Ghaiás, had arrived at Court, and had been presented to the late Emperor Akbar. In 1595 he had been made a *mansabdár*, and was employed as Treasurer of the Household. He had one daughter, whose name was Mihr-un-

Nissa, and whom the Emperor caused to be married to a brave young Turkmán named Ali Kuli Beg. But it is said that she had before this met Jahángir, then Crown Prince, and that he had been captivated by her wit and beauty. In any case, the young couple were sent away. Ali Kuli was given an estate at Bardwán, in Bengal, where he was living with his wife at the time of Jahángir's accession, being then known by the title, or *sobriquet*, of Sher Afkan.* The Governor of Bengal, at that season, was Shaikh Khubu, foster-brother of the Emperor, a corpulent but resolute man, who received orders to look after Sher Afkan, and to send him to Court if he found him insubordinate, the province being, as it often was, in a disturbed state. The Governor proceeded to Bardwán to carry out his orders. On nearing the house, he was met by Sher Afkan, armed and mounted. Leaving their attendants, the two officers closed and fell to conversation. Suddenly Sher Afkan was seen to draw his sword and plunge it into the bulky person of the Governor, who pressed his hand to the wound and called to his men. They charged the solitary rebel, and killed him, though not before he had run another officer through the body. The wife was then sent to Agra, where she remained four years in the apartments of Sultána Rukiya, Akbar's chief widow. On a certain New Year's Day festival—apparently in 1610—the Emperor cast eyes upon her, and she shortly after became his wife, practically, indeed, his only consort. Modern historians have seen in this story a proof of deliberate wickedness on Jahángir's part; but there are many circumstances that plead in his favour. His *insouciance* and want of earnestness, the long interval

* "Lion-queller"; said to have been gained by vanquishing a lion in single combat.

between the lady's widowhood and her second marriage, and the fact that she had reached an age—thirty-four—when Eastern ladies have usually but little attraction for Eastern lovers, combine to suggest that the circumstances which appear suspicious may be only parts of a coincidence. Certain it is that she made a good use of her rise, and that her influence on her wayward husband was highly beneficial. "In the hour of her greatness," wrote a historian, many years after her death, "she won golden opinions from all sorts of people, being just and beneficent to all. She is said to have provided, out of her private purse, dowries for the marriage of no less than five hundred portionless girls. She likewise befriended her very able brother, and the Pathán General, Mohábat Khán, by both of whom her patronage was but ill-requited." As for the weak, but not wholly unamiable Emperor, his happiness was unbounded. He adapted his own name (Nur-ud-din Jahángir) to her use by entitling her Nur Jahán, or "World's Light," which he stamped upon his coin. He entrusted the administration to her, in conjunction with her brother, Asaf Khán; and he said that, for his own part, all that he needed for the future was a joint and a bottle to keep himself merry.

In 1610 Bengal, as has been said, was disturbed. In that year, also, occurred an outbreak at Patna, headed by a *fakir* who pretended that he was Khusru, who had escaped from prison. It was suppressed by an Imperial officer named Azfal Khán, who took the town, and put the impostor to death. In the same year the Khán-khánán was recalled from the command he had held for many years past in the Deccan; and Sultán Parwez, the Emperor's second son, was appointed to the government of the province, with Khán Jahán Lodi as his

atdlik. This was an energetic but unscrupulous Hindustáni Pathán, who claimed descent from the old dynasty of Lodi, and whose name will occur again in this narrative.

In 1612 the remnant of the Patháns* once more broke out in Bengal, where they had been so long troublesome. On the death of Sher Afkan, Islám Khán—grandson of Salim Chisti, the Saint of Fatehpur—had been sent to take the place of the slaughtered governor, Shaikh Khubu. Jahángir takes credit, in his *Memoirs*, for this selection, remarking that, though objections were made on account of his youth, yet the new governor had done more to reduce the country to order than any of his predecessors. The enemy were led by Usmán (or Othmán), a corpulent Pathán, who had to fight on an elephant, as no horse could carry him. The Imperialists, under Shaikh Kabir—another member of the Chisti family of Fatehpur, whom Jahángir had dignified with the title of Shujá'at Khán—encountered the rebels, under Usmán the Bulky, on the 2nd March 1612, at a place in Eastern Bengal which has not been identified. Usmán displayed courage and ability. Having observed confusion in the wings of the Imperialists, both of which had lost their leader, he made a fierce attack upon the centre of the line. So hot was the encounter that Shujá'at wounded Usmán's elephant, and was himself unhorsed in the *mêlée*; his standard-bearer was overthrown at the same moment. But the valiant leader sprang up with a shout of "Play the man, I am unhurt"; the standard-bearer was mounted on a fresh

* Whenever this word occurs without explanation it must be taken as signifying native Muslims of Afghan descent. They are still numerous in India, where their general reputation is anything but flattering.

horse, and the standard raised once more. The Imperialists rallied round it: arrows and matchlock-balls were aimed at the elephant and its bold rider, and ere long Usmán received a mortal wound from an unknown matchlockman. Still he fought on, and still the carnage continued, till the bulky Afghán fell back fainting in his howdah, and the Imperialists, pressing on the disheartened foe, drove them to take shelter in their entrenchments. During the night Usmán died of his wound, and his brother and son surrendered next day. In the following month the troops of the Emperor went into cantonments at Dacca, and liberal rewards were conferred on the successful governor and his general.

Affairs in the Deccan were less prosperous, where two armies, intended for co-operation, were disgracing themselves and their leaders by jealousy and incompetence. Malik Ambar, mentioned in the last chapter, was a man of ability, both for war and peace, and was assisted by clouds of light troops furnished by the Mahrattas, of whom we now hear for the first time. One of the Imperial armies was driven into Gujarát, the other fell back on Burhánpur, where Sultán Parwez had his vice-regal residence; and the Deccan was temporarily left in a merely nominal dependence on the Empire, in which it would, perhaps, have been wise to have let it remain.

In the beginning of 1613 the Emperor set out on a progress to Ajmir, intending to chastise Amar Singh of Udaipur, who was pursuing the traditional policy of his house, undaunted by previous experiences, and resentful of the taking of Chitor in the last reign. On arrival at Ajmir, the Emperor devoted himself to worshipping at the shrine of the founder of the Indian Chistis, "whose blessed influence had acted so powerfully on the fortunes of my dynasty." The youthful Khurram, whom

we last saw attending on Akbar's death-bed, was put in nominal command of the army of Udaipur, with Mahábat Khán as chief military leader. Khusru was still in custody, and manifesting a sulky spirit.

In 1614 arrived a welcome dispatch from the army. So complete had been the success of the young Prince's operations and manœuvres that the Rána Amar Singh had undergone a species of "stale-mate," by reason of which he had found himself without any resource but to veil his proud crest and submit to demean himself as a vassal of the Empire. Jahángir was, as he had reason to be, delighted at this important success, and sent rescripts to the Rána and his son inviting them in gracious terms to come in.

Now, too, we hear for the first time of another race, who were destined to compete successfully with Mughuls and Mahrattas for the Empire of Hindustán. Jahángir had lately sent orders to his officers in Gujarát to operate against the Portuguese, who had been committing piratical acts against native commerce. Attacked at the same time by the ships of the English—" *Angrézian* "—the Portuguese were forced to submit and solicit the protection of Mukarrab Khán, the Imperial governor. About the same time the Rána of Udaipur had a most friendly reception from Sultán Khurram, and sent his own heir, Karan Singh, to wait upon the Emperor. He does not appear to have gone in person; but his submission was equally signalized by what he had done.

The tenth year of Jahángir's reign began on the 10th March 1615. Karan, the son of the Udaipur Rána, was presented at Court; and, in pursuance of the policy established by Akbar, was made a grandee, with a *mansab* of "five thousand," the highest dignity of any-

one not a Prince of the blood. In this year occurred another important event. Some Mahratta leaders who had been offended by Malik Ambar, joined the Imperial leader at Bálápur, and the combined forces inflicted a serious defeat on the army of Ambar, after which they occupied Kirki near Poona.

But the most interesting person at this period is Khurram, whose abilities and successes were bringing him into the utmost prominence. He had reached his twenty-second year, and was married to Arjumand Bánu, the daughter of Asaf 'Khán, the Empress's brother. He was grave and discreet beyond his years; and the Emperor records with humorous simplicity the advice he gave him to take a little wine—"not to excess, but to promote good spirits."

Nor is the Emperor himself—matured and enjoying the domestic happiness which, with all his faults, he truly prized—a figure devoid of attraction. There is nothing wonderful in the spectacle of a man born in the purple, and spoilt from his cradle by an indulgent father, with all around him tempting to dissipation, treading the path of his unhappy brothers, and becoming a monster of vice and selfishness. But it is a less simple case when we find the same man, in middle life and in the plenitude of success and grandeur, amending his habits at the bidding of dependent doctors, and under the influence of a wife no longer young. His own candid confessions are extant, both as to his almost incredible excesses and as to the extent to which he now began to control them. The book has neither the high tone of the *Ain Akbari*, nor the romantic gallantry that makes Bábar's *Memoirs* one of the world's favourites; but the *Tuzak Jahángiri* has a merit of its own. In the words of Elliot, who is disposed to judge harshly: "He records

his weaknesses and confesses his faults with candour, and a perusal of this work alone would leave a favourable impression both of his character and talents."

These *Memoirs* were suppressed during the reign of Jahángir's son and successor, the stately Sháh Jahán. But attention was drawn to them by Muhamad Hádi about a century after their composition. In these circumstances we are fully entitled to look upon the *Memoirs* as authentic, and upon Hádi as, at least, impartial. And it luckily happens that we have accounts of Jahángir as contemporaneous and authentic as the *Memoirs*, yet as independent and impartial as Hádi. A number of Englishmen were in India during this reign; and in the narratives of Roe, Terry, Hawkins, Coryat, and others, in testimony as to the state of the country and the Court, we have as much information as to the character of the Emperor as privileged and intelligent foreigners were likely to obtain.

Referring to other works* for an account of the British Envoy and his mission, let us here only note that the careless Jahángir does not mention Sir T. Roe, or his Embassy, otherwise than to mention the occasion of his taking the air in a European coach, which was one of the presents, and ordering his courtiers to have their carriages built on the same model.

From the English travellers in general we derive the impression of a monarch easy, courteous, and sociable; on the whole probably superior to his contemporary, James of Great Britain and Ireland, in those qualities of humanity.

The *Memoirs* corroborate this view. They show Jahángir in an amiable light. He repeatedly pardoned

* *Vide* Elphinstone on the reign (Book x. chap. i.); also *Turks in India*, 22 H.

the misconduct of Khusru, Mán Singh, and the Khán-khánán. He paid great attention to the completion of his father's tomb at Sikandra. He favoured Christianity, and had some members of his family baptized with great public solemnity. And, lastly, he did what few dispsoniacs have ever done, brought down his allowance of liquor to a moderate amount, and left off drinking by day, in deference to his physicians and his wife. In 1617 he issued his *Counterblast against Tobacco*, without conscious imitation of his Western brother. In short, he never looked on himself as other than a pious and conscientious ruler.

The year 1616 was memorable for a severe epidemic, following on two years' drought. Beginning in the Punjáb it pursued its way by Lahore and Dehli into the Dūáb of Hindustan. It is said to have been very infectious and to have lasted for eight years. After staying nearly five years at Ajmir, Jahángir now moved to Mándu, abstaining from visiting the regions where the pestilence raged—as he naively says—"by inspiration." Here Khurram presented himself, and was received by the Emperor with double honour as a loyal servant and beloved son ; a character in which he was never to appear again. He was promoted to a special *mánsab*, or peerage, of "twenty thousand," and the title "*Sháh Jahán*"—which he ever after bore—was bestowed on him, with the privilege of sitting on the chair placed by the throne at Court receptions.

In 1619 the Court went to Kashmir, the Emperor moving rapidly ahead with a few companions and the indispensable minimum of attendants, while the ladies followed in a more easy and leisurely manner. Here news came of the death of Amar Singh ; and the son, Karan, was created Rána by patent—the first time such

an event had ever occurred in the ancient principality of Udaipur. Jahángir's description of the scenery and flora of Kashmir and Dardistán is very pointed, and shows keen observation, tersely expressed. He found some beer brewed in one place, of which he very quaintly remarks that it is harsh and bitter to the taste, but "if there were no such thing as wine it might be accepted as a substitute, being sufficient to cause intoxication." This year the rural festival began, and ran far into the second, diversified by news of the capture of Kángra—which we saw only imperfectly conquered in the time of Akbar—and of a new and varied campaign under Khurram in the South; the pleasure-tour being arrested at last by a fit of asthma, from which Jahángir suffered all the rest of his life. He returned to Agra for the winter, where he was taken care of by his son Parwez; and next spring he set off again for the hills, with the intention of building himself a new residence in a milder climate. The rest of the year 1621 seems to have been spent in Kángra.

Early in 1622 came news of an attack upon Kandahár by the Persians, to repel which the Emperor ordered the collection of a force so large that of oxen alone over one hundred thousand were required in the transport. At the same time bad news came also from the south, leading to suspicions of the fidelity of Sháh Jahán. The unhappy Khusru died in Sháh Jahán's custody, on the 16th January 1622; and his death seems to have determined Sháh Jahán to take to rebellious courses, lest Parwez should obtain the succession from their father's growing fondness. The Emperor sent him a special envoy of rank, and ordered that the troops should be sent from the Deccan to take part in the Kandahár campaign. Instead of complying, Sháh Jahán marched

straight upon Agra, accompanied by our old friend the Khánkhánán (Bairám's son) now in the seventieth year of his age. Mahábat Khán was appointed commander of the Imperial army, which made for Dehli, the Kandahár campaign being postponed perforce. These operations occupied the beginning of 1623; and in March an affair of some importance occurred, the advanced guard of either army meeting, and that of the Imperialists going over to the enemy. But Asaf Khán, who was not far behind, brought up a large body of horse; and the rebel leader—one Sundar—being opportunely shot, the rebels retreated in confusion. Sultán Parwez was now put in titular command, Mahábat still exercising the real military direction. As he advanced, Sháh Jahán's friends lost heart. Perceiving their irresolution the Prince himself prepared for retreat; and on the next collision, which took place in Málwa, Sháh-jáhan fled precipitately over the Narbada; threw the Khánkhánán, and other officers whom he suspected, into confinement at Asirgarh; and finally, taking them in his train, took post at Burhánpur. The Khánkhánán, however, ere long obtained his liberty and came over to Mahábat, by whom he was presented to Parwez. On hearing of this defection Sháh Jahán retired to the Deccan. Parwez and Mahábat maintained for some time a species of pursuit, in which, however, it may be suspected that the General was less earnest than the Prince, his companion, might have wished. Sháh Jahán escaped to Masulipatam, and ultimately into Bengal. The Emperor soon after revisited his favourite northern regions; and was wandering in his usual pleasure-seeking way towards Kábul, when an event took place which threatened his liberty, and even his life, and brought out one of those signal displays of

conjugal heroism for which Oriental ladies have been in all times justly celebrated.

The Emperor's health had been in a state of permanent deterioration for some time. He was now fifty-seven; afflicted by chronic asthma, and debilitated by habits of intemperance long pursued in a fiery climate.

Sháh Jahán, alike by his services and by the death of his elder brother Khusru, had acquired a claim to the succession. But Jahángir displayed an ostentatious fondness for his younger son Parwez, whose habits were more like his own than were Sháh Jahán's; while Nur Jahán was unable to conceal her friendly wishes for Shahryár, the youngest of the princes, and husband of her daughter by her former husband. It is difficult to say what were the views of the heads of the civil and of the military administration, Asaf and Mahábat; but neither of them favoured the candidature of Shahryár. Subsequently Mahábat Khán and Asaf both joined Sháh Jahán, and—though one was the Empress's own brother—it is probable that both were already jealous of her influence in public affairs. For the moment, Mahábat seemed to lean to Parwez, and was on that account disliked by Sháh Jahán. But even then he was not unwilling that this Prince should be secured in the reversion should Parwez die. Khán Jahán Lodi was in command in the Deccan; unfaithful to his trust, but aloof from faction, and plotting for himself alone. Asaf Khán was closely connected with Sháh Jahán, as the father of his much-loved wife.

Such being the relations of the players, the game of the succession began. The Empress made the first move by causing her husband to address Mahábat in terms of reprimand. His chief alleged offence was that he had given his daughter in marriage without permission; and

such was his alarm at the Empress's anger and violence that he resolved to act promptly, before it should be too late. One night in spring the Court was encamped on the banks of the Jhelam; and Asaf Khán with the numerous escort had crossed by a bridge, while the indolent monarch was still dozing in the pleasant sleep of early morning. On a sudden, as we are informed by the equerry-in-waiting—the historian, Mutamad Khán—the General rode up to the door of the Emperor's tent with about two hundred Rájput followers, while the bridge was held by the bulk of his adherents. The Emperor was thrust into a litter, and finally mounted on an elephant, on which he was shown for some time and then taken back to his quarters. In the meanwhile the Empress, under the impression that her lord was gone to shoot as usual, crossed the river and went to the tent of her brother, the minister Asaf Khán. Here the events of the morning were made known and discussed with much excitement, a resolution being formed to liberate the Emperor by force. But the bridge had in the meanwhile been burned; nothing could be effected that day, and, next morning, when a body of men was got together sufficient to force the passage of the neighbouring ford, Mahábat was ready on his part to hold the other bank. A brisk engagement ensued, in which Nur Jahán took a conspicuous share; causing her elephant to be driven into the thick of the *mêlée*, and being herself the mark for numerous arrows, one of which wounded the grandchild that she carried in her howda. All her courage was in vain; Asaf Khán's party was driven back upon Attock, while Mahábat advanced in pursuit, carrying the Emperor with him. On arriving at Attock he found Asaf there, but compelled him to surrender, and all marched on together

towards Kábul, Jahángir showing his usual indifference, and his clever consort plotting for his release.

In the meantime, Sháh Jahán had returned to the Deccan, had made a junction with his old enemy, Malik Ambar, and had delivered an unsuccessful assault upon Burhánpur. Foiled in this, and deprived of his ally by death, while his own health became extremely feeble, Sháh Jahán had written a penitent letter to his father, which had received a gracious and encouraging answer, accompanied by valuable gifts. He retired on Násik near Poona, whence, hearing of his father's trouble, he set off towards Hindustan, and got as far as Ajmir by the end of June. Here, however, his most influential companion died, and his forces became so reduced that he deemed it wiser to take refuge for the time in Sindh; ultimately returning to the Deccan on an assurance from Nur Jahán that all would be well.

Soon after the Emperor arrived in Kábul he was delivered from captivity through the unwearied exertions of his faithful wife. On the 28th October 1626, Prince Parwez died at Burhánpur, and Sháh Jahán became the most probable heir of the Crown. His movements were anxiously watched; and a contemporary historian, Muhamad Amin, writing in this year, says: "Prince Khurram remains in the Deccan. We must wait to see what may happen to him, and what course he may hereafter pursue."

The Emperor at the end of the year returned to Lahore by way of Rohtás, and Asaf Khán was rewarded for his loyal service by being made Governor of the Subah of the Punjáb and Vazir of the Empire.

When the winter was over Jahángir once more set his face towards the happy valley; and the *Nauroz* of 11th March 1627 was celebrated when the camp was on the

banks of the Chenáb. At the same time passed off the stage a long-known actor, the Khánkhánán Mirza Khán. As son of Bairám who had fought at Kanauj, he was one of the last links between the consolidated Empire and its stormy birth. He was in the seventy-second year of his age, and known to modern times as the translator of Bábar's *Memours* into Persian. In the same season came bad news from the Deccan; Khán Jahán, the Khán's successor there, had sold Ahmadnagar and the Bálághat to Nizám-ul-Mulk, the chief of that part of the Deccan, for a sum of money on his own account. About the same time, Mahábat joined Sháh Jahán at Násik with a small body of horsemen.

The hot weather passed heavily for the worn-out Emperor in Kashmir; and at the approach of winter he and his family marched towards the Punjáb plain country, intending to pass the winter at Lahore. But the Emperor's health failed rapidly. Before leaving Kashmir he had been obliged to give up horse-exercise, and was now only able to travel in a litter. His appetite for food was gone, and opium, that had soothed him for forty years, now inspired nothing but loathing and disgust. So, faring sadly down, he reached Bairámkillá; and, under the temporary stimulus of the change of air and scene, ordered a drive of deer to be made, while he sat on the bank of the stream with his loaded rifle ready to shoot the game as it passed within range of him, on the top of the steep cliff which formed the opposite bank. He shot the first animal that passed, but a beater going to secure the quarry missed his footing, and came down over the cliff's side; the stream cast him up, mangled and dead, near the Emperor's feet. Hurrying to camp, with nerves shattered by the shock, he sent for the poor man's mother, and attempted to console himself and her

by a gift of money. But in vain. The crushed head was haunting him; he said he had "seen the angel of death." He pushed on to Rájaur. On leaving next morning he called for a cup of wine, but could not drink. Carried on towards Bimbhar, on the 28th October he breathed his last, being in his fifty-ninth year. He had reigned about twenty-two years. His body was taken on to Lahore, where it was buried in a garden belonging to Nur Jahán.

Jahángir was in full possession of the Empire when he died. His record is unequivocal. He was not a model, either as monarch or as man. As an administrator he was even less. The account of the country by the Italian traveller, Della Valle, in the later part of his reign, is to the effect that the people displayed prosperity, and did it in security, "because," says he, "the King does not persecute his subjects with false accusations, nor deprive them of anything when he sees them live splendidly and with the appearance of riches." This is, at least, negative praise, not usually deserved by Oriental rulers. But the administration was inefficient and saturated with corruption. Roe found that abuses were uncontrolled in the customs, where the officers appropriated to their own use whatever they called contraband. The districts were in the hands of persons who had contracted for them as farms, and had to oppress the people in order to wring out a profit. The Empress, her father, her brother, were all insatiable in taking gifts. The military spirit was much impaired, though during the Emperor's detention by Mahábat at Kábul a body of exempts attacked the Minister's Rájputs and gave them a severe lesson; their courage, in fact, was instrumental in delivering Jahángir from captivity. Hawkins found the country so full of robbers, in the

early part of the reign, that he could scarcely stir abroad without a guard. Roe, at a later period, had to delay his despatches till he found a caravan setting out with sufficient escort.

It has been mentioned above that Jahángir issued certain "institutes," which looked fair enough on paper; they have been severely criticised by Sir H. Elliot, himself a distinguished Indian administrator of a more modern day.

The *first* is a false claim to have remitted customs' dues, which had been already remitted by Akbar, and which—if Roe and Hawkins are to be believed—were exacted, arbitrarily and extortionately, under Jahángir.

The *second* is an assertion of measures for the prevention of highway robbery, which, if really taken, were of little or no avail. Elliot cites no less than five English witnesses to prove how unsafe, and often how deserted, were the high roads of the time.

The *third* is little more than a repetition of Sher Sháh's rule about the property of travellers dying on a journey. Here, again, English evidence is cited to show how often this rule was disregarded, especially in the interest of great men and princes of the blood.

The *fourth* is the celebrated piece of hypocrisy by which this monarch, an habitual drunkard, claims credit for enforcing temperance. Elsewhere we have seen him, on his own showing, earnestly striving to make his sober son join in his wine-bibbing. Roe says that he never saw two men so fond of red wine as the Emperor and Prince (Parwez), and elsewhere describes the former as "drinking heartily himself and commanding others to drink." Lastly, the evening, when he chiefly gave himself up to drinking, was the very time which he pretended to set aside for business.

The *fifth* rule is one that Jahángir says he made to prevent trespass and cruelty. This rule he by no means observed in his own practice, as Elliot shows by many instances. Once, when Mahábat was away on duty, Jahángir turned the General's family out of their house, and gave it to his son Parwez. He burned down the town of Ajmir, while Roe was there. His acts of cruelty to individuals were numerous and arbitrary. Hawkins says that in elephant-fights, when a driver—as often happened—was hurt, the Emperor had him thrown into the neighbouring river. "So long as he lives in pain he will curse me," was the despot's remark, "but dead men are silent." These acts, hundreds of them, are related with loathing by Englishmen of a time that was not squeamish, and who were accustomed to see the sufferings of heretics and traitors in Smithfield and on Tower Hill.

Sixthly, the Emperor writes that he forbade his officers to seize the lands of his subjects. This did not prevent him from giving the lands of his subjects to farmers—a class who were bound, by their own interests, to be the most rapacious of all managers or collectors.

The *seventh* rule was that no such person should contract marriages with women of their districts without the permission of the Emperor. This rule was well-intentioned, however it may have been carried out.

The same comment applies to the *eighth* head, relative to public hospitals and medical officers paid by the State. If carried out, it was a benevolent system; if not, it was a mere barren admission of responsibility.

The *ninth* rule was for honouring days: his own birthday, the day of the week on which his father was born, and especially Sunday. Elliot's comment on this is to quote, from a not very authoritative book of later date,

a description of the Emperor's avowed contempt for religion. In Jahángir's own *Memoirs* are many expressions of natural piety, and some indicative of respect for Islám.

The *tenth* regulation is said to have been one for the confirmation of Akbar's grants, and the promotion of meritorious officers. There seems no sufficient reason shown in Elliot's comments for doubting that the principle was, on the whole, observed. .

Similar remarks are suggested by the *eleventh*, which relates to spiritual benefices. Jahangir would not improbably be willing to quiet such titles, though it was not in the nature of his arbitrary government that they should not be sometimes disturbed.

Lastly, he says that on his accession he released all the inmates of the State prisons. A puerile proceeding, no doubt, but well-meant. These measures were probably intended as continuations of Akbar's policy. One of the most pleasing traits in the *Memoirs* is the respect shown by the author to the memory of his illustrious sire.

Akbar's remains were laid, as we have seen, in his garden of Bihishtábád, at Sikandra, a few miles out of Agra, on the Dehli road. Here his tomb was made, in a vault thirty-eight feet square, and round the tomb were placed the arms, raiment, and books that had been used by the mighty dead.

On the *Nauroz* of his third year of sovereignty Jahángir walked out to inspect the works—a serious journey for a monarch to make on foot in an Agra March day. "I would," he said, "that I could have made it on my head!" Later in the same year he went again, and personally directed certain alterations. The result is creditable, alike to his taste and

feeling ; and the magnificent pile of sand-stone and marble, standing in skilfully laid-out grounds, still attracts well-merited admiration from native and foreign visitors alike.

Other fine buildings of this reign are : the tomb of the luckless Khusru at Allahabad, that of Mirza Ghiás (Nur Jahán's father, "Itmád-ud-daula") at Agra, and Jahángir's own mausoleum at Lahore. In the immediate vicinity of Jahángir's tomb is that of the Empress Nur Jahán—a humble reproduction of her lord's ; and not far off is that of her brother, 'Asaf Khán, a domed structure of the usual Mughol type. It is a small sign of originality that few of these structures have domes ; for the most part, they end in a sky-line which, though varied with kiosques and other irregularities, is essentially horizontal. The ornamentation is, generally, sincere and good. The temple of Gobind Debi at Muttra (built by Rájá Mán Singh), is also a grand building of this period ; as is the chief quadrangle of the fort-palace at Lahore ; perhaps, too, the "Jahángiri Mahl" at Agra.

Before the Emperor had left Kashmir his youngest son, Sultán Shahryár had been taken ill and had proceeded to Lahore for the benefit of his health. This Prince, who was the Empress's son-in-law, was of singular beauty of person, but not of corresponding mental power, and he is mentioned by the chroniclers as *Nashudani*, or "Fainéant." On hearing of his father's death he seized the treasure, and, by the advice of the Empress, collected men with the intention of joining Her Majesty and assuming the government. Asaf Khán, impressed with the idea that the throne ought not to remain vacant, professed to set up Sultán Dáwar Bakhsh, son of Khusru of unlucky memory ; though at

the same time he sent off a trusty runner to Sháh Jahán to acquaint him with the state of affairs and invite him to come north and assume the Empire. Sháh Jahán being then at Násik, it would take at least three months before he could appear; and it was for the quieting of the country and the defeat of the Empress's arrangements that a puppet sovereign was thought necessary.

Shahryár marched out of Lahore, and 'Asaf and his "Winter King" met him and gave him battle. Shahryár was defeated, made prisoner, and deprived of sight.

Meanwhile Dáwar Bakhsh was enjoying his brief reign, and the runner was pacing night and day the thousand or so of miles that lie between the Punjáb and the Deccan. He had not been entrusted with any writing, for that might come to light and compromise the plans. But he was the bearer of a full oral communication; and, as a credential of its authenticity, he carried the Minister's signet-ring. In twenty days the runner arrived at Junir, near Poona, where he found the Prince encamped, accompanied by Mahábat Khán, who had sought and obtained the Prince's favour on the failure of his *coup d'état* in the Punjáb. The runner was taken to Mahábat's tent.

On becoming acquainted with the purport of the Minister's message, the Prince wrote a letter to inform 'Asaf that he should march upon Agra; but calling on the Minister to prove his sincerity by putting to death the incompetent Shahryár. He then proceeded to collect the army of the Deccan and advance slowly towards Agra, through Gujarát and Ajmir.

The Minister, on receipt of the Prince's rescript, took Shahryár out of his confinement and had him publicly executed, along with Sultáns Hoshang and Taimur—

sons of the drunken Dániyál—who had joined in his attempt. Nur Jahán was allowed to retire to Lahore, where she lived for many years, doing good and wearing the white weeds of a Mughol widow. She died in 1646 A.D., and was buried in the garden of Sháhdara, near Lahore, by the side of her husband. The “ Winter King ” was at the same time permitted to escape into Persia ; and Sháh Jahán, having reached Agra, ascended the throne, 4th February 1628.

CHAPTER VIII.

SHÁH JAHÁN. A.D. 1628-58.

THE reign of Sháh Jahán differs from those by which it was preceded. Military expeditions continue to pass before our eyes ; but the Empire is fairly organized and consolidated ; and the picture of the period is one of prime and palmy days. The dynasty is in equipoise. The Court is rich and splendid ; presenting itself, to eyes accustomed to Whitehall and Versailles, as a type of regal magnificence. As the military events have been amply and accurately recorded by Elphinstone, it will be as well to devote more of our space to some other and more social aspects. The subjoined summary of the annals will suffice to carry on the historical part of the narrative.

The Emperor was born in 1592, his mother being daughter of Udai Singh, Rána of Marwár. His father's mother being also a Hindu, Sháh Jahán had very little Chaghtai blood. Of his attachment to his illustrious grandfather, the Emperor Akbar, and of the precocious earnestness and ability of his youthful years, we have had a glimpse in preceding pages. We need only add, for the present, that to his military talents he added a strong love of jewellery, upholstery, and architecture ; and that he was much subject to the sway of women,

passing, at his wife's death, from her influence to that of her eldest daughter.

The first important event of the reign was the death of Nar Singh—the murderer of Abul Fazl—leaving a son to succeed him as chief of Bundelkhand. About the same time Khán Jahán Lodi, who had been recalled to explain his corrupt conduct in the Deccan, escaped from Court and marched towards Gwalior, at the head of his personal following. Pursued, by the Emperor's order, so soon as his flight was known, he was overtaken near Dholpur, as he was attempting to cross his family over the Chambal. It was the morning of the 24th October. The waters of the river, swollen by the autumn rains, were high and stormy; but the bulk of the fugitives, after a number had been slain on both sides, made good their retreat, and swam their horses to the opposite bank. They were not followed as quickly as ought to have been done, the leader of the Imperialists having been killed in the skirmish. They passed through Bundelkhand by the connivance of Nar Singh's grandson; and, making their way through what is now "the Central Provinces," joined the Prince of Ahmadnagar—or Nizám—who was disaffected, after the manner of his house. Early in the following year an army was sent against the confederates under 'Azam Khán (one of the family to which the Empress-Dowager, Nur Jahán, belonged, and at this moment Prime Minister). 'Azam surrounded Khán Jahán with a superior force, about forty miles from Ahmadnagar. Sending his family to a place of comparative safety, the desperate rebel made up his mind to cut his way through the wall of steel and fire; and ultimately got away with a handful of followers into a hilly country where he could not be easily pursued. The Mahratta leader of the

Ahmadnagar chief's forces immediately abandoned him and joined 'Azam Khán. The "Nizám"—so the chief himself is usually designated—also abandoned the unfortunate man, who finally decided on moving northward, in the hope of getting the support of some of his clansmen among the Afghans. But, in whatever direction he turned, he still found a fresh force of his enemies barring the path. He tried the road through Málwa, but was met, south-west of Mándu, by Abdulla Khán. He turned off towards Ujain, and again to Mandisor. At Sironj the Government troops were only two days behind him. As a last resource he turned towards his old friends the Bundelas, and attempted to get to Kálpi. But Nar Singh's grandson had by this time been replaced in this region by his father, Jajhár Singh, who was anxious to recover the Emperor's favour, and went after Khán Jahán to cut off his retreat. Overtaking the rear-guard under Dariá Khán, he attacked them, thinking that he had got hold of Khán Jahán himself. Four hundred of the Patháns were slain, including Dariá himself, whose head was cut off and sent to Court, as a testimonial of the Bundela's loyalty. Dariá had been a *mansabdar* of five thousand, and the Rájá was promoted for his death. But it was necessary to do more ere the Government could feel itself safe. Khán Jahán had arrived at Bhandar, north-east of Jhánsi, when he heard of the death of his comrade: the Imperialists being about sixteen miles off.

It was by this time the end of 1630, nearly fifteen months since Khán Jahán's flight from Court. Since then he had been incessantly fighting against odds or fleeing from unpitying pursuers. And now they were closing round him for the last time; and he had no

alternative left but to sell his life as dear as he might. Many of his faithful Patháns were unfit for combat by reason of the fatigues of their long flight. These he sent off with the little baggage that was left him ; about one thousand horsemen were all that he could muster for the last struggle. It was long and fierce: wounded and worsted he was driven off to Kalinjar ; here the commandant of the fort drew out his forces to stop the way. Khán Jahán had again to fight, and was again defeated, with the loss of his elephants and yak-tailed standard. Again escaping, he marched forty miles in one day, and reached Seānda, a town on the right bank of the Ken river, not far from Nowgong. Here, on the 28th January 1631, he made his final stand. He was weary of the life that he had been leading, he told his followers, and without hope of deliverance ; let each make off as best he could. Many acted on the advice ; a few, more generous, remained with him to the last. The advanced guard of the Government troops presently came up under a Hindu leader named Mádhú Singh. The rebel had but two elephants left ; these he and his son mounted and led on their thin line. Presently, the opposing ranks closing, Khán Jahán alighted to fight on foot ; he was encountered and speared by Mádhú, and the deaths of his son and about one hundred of their men soon followed. Their heads were cut off and sent to Agra, where they were exposed over the main gate of the fort.

This episode may be taken as an illustration of one class of difficulties to which the Governments of those days were exposed. It is possible that, had the Prince of Ahmadnagar been a man of more energy, and had the Mahrattas been better led, the misfortunes of a later period would have been anticipated, and the Empire restricted to its natural limits in Hindustán. As it was,

the Nizám's fall followed on that of the man he had so readily deserted ; and the remaining days of the three Deccan powers were numbered. The chiefs of Bijapur and Golconda were attacked and reduced in detail, while the Emperor looked on from Burhánpur. But these events are foreign to our subject, which is the history of Hindustán.

The year 1631 is further noticeable for the death of the Emperor's favourite consort, the lady of the Tájj, which took place at Burhánpur on or, about the 18th June. She was the daughter of 'Asaf, the brother of the Empress Nur Jahán, and was the mother of the Emperor's children, eight sons and six daughters. Her remains were sent from Burhánpur to Agra, where the famous mausoleum was erected over her grave, which is still the object of pilgrimage to travellers from all quarters of the globe, and of which some description will be found further on. The Empress's death was commemorated in another and a less commendable manner by the attack on the Portuguese settlement in Bengal, commenced in the year of her decease. The deceased Empress had a prejudice against Christians ; and her death inspired the Emperor with a motive for molesting them.

We have seen that in Akbar's reign—1580 to 1592—Portuguese missionaries had been favourably received at the Imperial Court. In 1599 the Christians were allowed to build a cathedral church at Hughli, and about the same time a *firmán* is believed to have been issued for the foundation of an ecclesiastical establishment at Agra.* Akbar's successor, the latitudinarian Jahángir, encouraged Christians from a sense of com-

* The materials for a verification of this statement are absent ; the archives of the Agra Mission having been despatched for record at Rome some years ago, and lost at sea.

mercial expediency. Several tomb-stones in the Protestant cemetery in the Agra Civil Station still attest the presence of Dutch and English merchants there, the oldest being dated in 1627. Tombs of Catholics—mostly clergy—in the “Padre Santo,” in the same neighbourhood, beginning in 1634, show that there must have been a considerable mission there in Sháh-jáhan’s reign ; at the earliest part of which Bernier says that the Jesuits had at Agra “a very fair and large church . . . upon which there stood a great steeple with a bell in it, whose sound might be heard over all the town.” But the present Emperor was less tolerant than Akbar, less indolent than Jahángir. The deceased Empress had been brought up in a spirit of orthodoxy by her aunt, Nur Jahán, and her hostility had received a sharp impulse from the fact that two of her daughters had become Christians, and had taken up their abode with the Jesuits in the Portuguese settlement of Hughli. Shortly after her death the Emperor determined to avenge her quarrel. The year 1631 had been a dry period in Bengal, and the Portuguese non-combatants could not be removed by ship on account of the consequent low state of the river Ganges. A strict blockade was instituted by the Imperialists ; and, after a siege of some months, a portion of the defences were undermined and blown into the air. An assault followed, in which the Christians were driven back with great slaughter. The Mughol leader, Kásim Khán, then entered the town, where he demolished the fortifications and places of worship, and made the surviving non-combatants prisoners of war.* They were sent to Agra,

* A native historian states that ten thousand fell in the siege, and that the prisoners amounted to 400 of both sexes. The loss of the besiegers was also heavy.

where the women were distributed among the harems of the nobility, and the men circumcised or thrown into prison. Two of the priests sank under their sufferings, and their tombs are still to be seen at Agra. Nor did the work of persecution stop there. The church was destroyed, wholly or in great part. It is, nevertheless, probable that political rather than religious motives were the chief cause; for we learn that the Portuguese had long given offence by their piratical practices in the Bay of Bengal and on shore.*

This affair was concluded in 1632, when the Emperor had returned from Burhánpur to Agra. About the same time he gave another sign of an intolerant temper by causing the demolition of seventy-six places of worship which the Hindus had recently erected in Benares.

In 1633 the Emperor proceeded, *viâ* Lahore, to Kashmir, where he spent the summer; precautions being taken to minimise the evils on the line of march and pay compensation for damage.

In 1634 Mahábat Khán died in the Deccan. He had obtained condonation of his audacious treatment of the late Emperor; and at his death was Khánkhánán, head of the military administration. On the return of the Court to Agra the vacant dignity was conferred on 'Asaf Khán, who was already Vizier, or Prime Minister for civil affairs. Mahábat's eldest son was provided for, and ultimately rose to be Governor of Kábul and to bear his father's title. In the course of this year the Bundela chief Jajhár, and his son, committed various acts of insubordination, for which it was judged necessary to inflict punishment; and for that purpose 20,000 troops were sent into their country under the nominal command of Prince Aurangzeb, of whom we are hereafter

* Bernier and Kháp Khán corroborate this.

to hear so much. Ureha was taken by escalade, mining being found impracticable. The main body of the rebels, under Jajhar himself, fled towards the Deccan, whither they were pursued with commendable energy. Their forces being dispersed by the vigour of the pursuers, the Rájá and his son sought refuge in the woods, where they were murdered by the wild Gonds; the Imperialists went into cantonments at Chánda, where the remaining members of the family were made captives. The Emperor, who had by this time joined the campaign in person, ordered that the males should be circumcised and the women employed in his harem as servants. The Bundelas still continued to give trouble for some time.

The year 1636 was occupied in the settlement of the Deccan, which has been already mentioned. The principality of the Nizám was suppressed, those of Bijápur and Golkonda were reduced into apparent submission, and rendered feudatory. A campaign in Thibet closed the year with ostensible success, though, as afterwards proved, it was superficial.

In 1637 occurred an event destined to have long and troublesome consequences. Kandahár, which had been in the hands of the Persians since the seventeenth year of Jahángir, was surrendered to the Emperor of Hindustán by its governor, Ali Mardán Khán, who joined the Court at Lahore, where he was received with great distinction and made a *mansabdár*, or grandee, of the first class. In the next year Aurangzeb made some conquests in the Deccan, of which he had been appointed Viceroy; and another campaign took place in the Thibet hill-country.

In 1689 Ali Mardán Khán was made Viceroy of the Punjáb, and inaugurated his appointment by obtaining

the Emperor's consent to the construction of a canal, whereby the waters of the Rávi should be conducted to Lahore for the irrigation of the country between that city and the Himalayas. The Court summered in Kashmir. In the same year, and probably under the same inspiration, the foundations of the fort and palace of Dehli were laid with due ceremonies; and the old canal of Firoz Sháh was repaired between Khizrábád and Safidan, and continued from the latter place to Dehli, where it was introduced into the new buildings. These canals—developed by modern science—are still in full working order, and are calculated to keep the names of Ali Mardán and his Emperor in perpetual and grateful memory. The Court continued in Kashmir for the next summer, and the winter was passed at Lahore. We have some interesting pictures of the mode of life at the last-named place in the memoirs of Father Manrique, an Augustinian who visited Hindustán at this time, when he was on a tour of inspection among the missions of the East, and was, further, entrusted by the Portuguese Government at Goa with the office of procuring the release of the Hughli prisoners.

Manrique, in a work published at Rome in 1653, *Cum permissu Superiorum*, tells us that he arrived in Agra on Christmas Eve 1640. The city was at that time very large, extending six miles along the bank of the river Jumna, and containing a population of six hundred thousand permanent inhabitants, besides strangers, who were sufficiently numerous to require thirty caravanserais for their accommodation. The Father found that the Jesuits still had a mission and chapel there; and with them he passed his Christmas. Having had an interview with Father Antonio da Cristo, the Prior of Hughli, in his prison, Manrique proceeded to wait upon

the Governor of Agra ; but, by reason of the absence of the Emperor at Lahore, was unable to obtain an order for the Prior's release, or even a relaxation of his captivity. He was, therefore, under the necessity of proceeding to Lahore, which he reached after a journey of three weeks, and where, by the intervention of a Jesuit, Father Joseph da Castro, he was introduced into the presence of the Prime Minister, 'Asaf Khán. Him he found in a magnificent palace, gorgeously decorated with paintings, among which was a series illustrative of scenes in the life of St. John the Baptist. The Minister received Manrique most graciously, and promised that the Prior should be enlarged from confinement at once, if not entirely liberated. Two days later he received from the Minister a gift of some Persian melons and a bag of money. After some other interviews, Manrique succeeded in obtaining the full liberation of the Prior, and an Imperial decree sanctioning the reconstruction of some recently-demolished places of worship. On one occasion he dined with the Minister, and met the Emperor and several members of the Imperial family. The banquet was served with circumstances of almost incredible splendour, and many ladies of rank, unveiled, took their seats at the table. This testimony—which is quite unique—shows that the intolerance of the Mughols of that time was by no means severe, and that they had not yet adopted the rigorous woman-secluding habits of Islám.

On the 10th November of the same year, 1641, 'Asaf Khán died, in his seventy-second year. Besides the palace at Lahore, where Manrique visited him, and which is said to have cost twenty *lakhs* of rupees, he left a colossal fortune.

In the year 1643, Prince Aurangzeb professed to be

desirous of retiring from the world to a life of religious contemplation. The Emperor dissuaded him, little knowing what was to be the future of the dangerous young man. In lieu of the Deccan, where he had been Viceroy, Gujarát became the scene of his official employment; but the full significance of the occurrence is not even now quite clear. A campaign in Balkh and Badakshán followed, in which Sultán Murád was nominal commander, the actual guidance of affairs being held by Ali Mardán, who had been created Amir-ul-Umrá, or Premier Noble. The Emperor, in the meanwhile, moved towards Kábul. Murád proved quite unfit for his employment. A debauched sensualist, and surrounded by light lordlings of his own stamp, he pined and fretted among the alpine solitudes. The troops, observing the lack of zeal among their leaders, grew careless and unmanageable. In 1646 the Emperor was obliged to send Allámi Sa'd Ullah who had succeeded 'Asaf Khán as Prime Minister. He was an able and zealous officer, and his exertions somewhat restored order. The chief command was next conferred on Aurangzeb, who, after personal experience of the state of affairs, wrote to his father recommending that the country should be restored to its former ruler. The advice having been adopted, Aurangzeb and Ali Mardán conducted a retreat—in which it is plain, despite the courtly language employed by the chronicler, that they were much harassed both by the hill-tribes and by the snow. Five thousand men, with a quantity of baggage and cattle, were lost in this retreat.

In 1648 Aurangzeb was again employed, this time in an attack on Kandahár. He was once more accompanied by a strong force under Sa'd Ullah, which the chronicler estimates at 60,000 horse and 10,000 infantry. The

reason of this movement was that the Persians had taken the city by a *coup-de-main*, aided by treachery in the garrison.

Aurangzeb was unable to obtain any success in his attempt to recover Kandahár, and was recalled to India in 1649; his elder brother, Dára, marching out from Kábul to cover his retreat. In 1650 a fresh campaign was undertaken in Thibet, and Skardo was captured. The Court remained that year at Lahore, but returned to Kábul in 1651. Sa'd Ullah and Aurangzeb were again despatched to Kandahár with a siege-train; but all the attempts of the Prince and his officers were foiled by the tenacity of the garrison. Dára now volunteered to take his brother's place; and a fresh train of ordnance was prepared.

After a five-months' siege, when all the ammunition had been expended and the forage in the neighbourhood consumed, Dára had to return, no more triumphant than his brother. It is difficult to account for these repeated failures, except by supposing that the armies of Hindustán had deteriorated from the quality that they possessed in the days of Akbar.

It was about this time that the Italian physician Manucci recorded his observations upon the Court of Sháh Jahán. The Emperor's family were still surrounding the Peacock Throne in apparent harmony and subordination: the Emperor was about sixty years old, fond of pleasure, but of refined tastes and dignified demeanour. Besides his four sons, Dára, Shuja'á, Murád, and Aurangzeb, he had two daughters living with him, both unmarried; Jahánará, the Pádsháh Begam ("Princess Royal"), being over thirty years of age, very beautiful and accomplished; the younger, less attractive, but of greater astuteness and worldly wisdom.

Dára was a freethinker,* with a taste for the learning of the Hindus and for the manners of Europe, in which he resembled his great-grandfather, Akbar. He held a minor Court, in which both these elements were represented, having in his suite a number of Rájput chiefs, and also many officers of engineers and artillery from Europe, together with three Jesuit priests, namely, a Neapolitan named Malpica, a Portuguese named Juzarte, and Henri Buzé, a Fleming, who is mentioned by the well-known French traveller Bernier, as having a powerful influence over the Prince's mind. Unhappily, the result was not the production of Christian graces, such as humility and gentleness. Dára combined with a latitude of opinion which shocked orthodox Muslims an arrogance which offended the more worldly courtiers. Of the other three brothers, Murád and Shuja'á were like many purple-born princes all the world over, indifferent to everything but their own pleasures. Aurangzeb, as we have seen, was of another stamp. Without exceptional originality, either civil or military, he was earnest, cool, calculating, and a professed follower of the more rigid form of orthodoxy, both in belief and observance. The elder Princess was attached to Dára, but the interests of Aurangzeb were vigilantly cared for by the younger; and wherever he might be, this faithful agent kept him informed of all the transactions of the palace.

At the beginning of 1653 the Court was at Dehli, where the new buildings had been now finished about five years. The Emperor himself moved thence to Ajmir this year, and sent Sa'd Ullah to demolish the new fortifications which, in breach of his agreement, the Rána of Udaipur had presumed to make. The work

* *Vide* next chapter.

was accomplished in spite of all the Rána's efforts at negotiation ; the working parties being occupied a fortnight in the task. Dára, to whom had been confided the nominal direction, was overwhelmed with marks of his father's favour.

In the following year the Imperial troops overran what is now known as the Dehra Dun ; the familiar names of Kalangar (the scene of Gillespie's death in 1814) and of Hardwár, occur in the narrative.

The next event to be noticed is the arrival at Court of the minister of the King of Golkonda, Mir Jumla, who had been ill-treated by his sovereign, and now sought the protection of Sháh Jahán. The defective statesmanship of those days had never quite organized these southern states into the Imperial system, though after each of their repeated conquests they were always treated as feudatory. On the present occasion the King of Golkonda was warned, and soon afterwards the Emperor sent a force in that direction under the command of Aurangzeb, who demanded the immediate enlargement of Mir Jumla's family and the surrender of his property, which had been sequestered by the King. After some evasions, the first portion of these orders met with compliance ; but the property not being delivered up, the Imperialists advanced upon Golkonda. The King came forth with his forces, but they were routed and driven to take refuge in their fortifications. After some more fighting, varied with negotiation, the property was surrendered, and the King of Golkonda, having given his daughter in marriage to Aurangzeb's eldest son, was pardoned, and restored to feudatory power.

On the 9th of April 1656, the Emperor underwent an irreparable loss in the death of 'Allámi Sa'd Ullah

Khán, universally regarded as the ablest and most upright minister that the Empire had produced since the time of Akbar. His son was provided for handsomely, though only eleven years old.

Having succeeded in Golkonda, Aurangzeb was next employed against Bijápur, where a disputed succession seemed to call for interference. The real reason, probably, was a desire on Dára's part to keep his ambitious and unsympathetic brother engaged in dangerous and distant expeditions. The policy, as we shall see, defeated itself. Aurangzeb became versed in warfare and dear to the soldiers in a manner which soon rendered him the only valid power in the country.

On the 16th April 1657, the Emperor lost another useful servant, the Premier Noble 'Ali Mardán Khán, who died on his way to Kashmir, and was buried at Lahore: his death, as we are informed, caused great grief to the Emperor.

In August 1657, the Emperor, who was residing at Dehli, was attacked by a complication of the maladies to which an elderly man of pleasure is often exposed. Next month his health grew so much worse that Dára, who had for some time been the mover in the administration, took full possession of authority, and acted as self-constituted Regent of the State. He laid hands upon the postal communications, intercepting and opening letters, and arresting any officials suspected of forwarding intelligence to distant parts. But the condition of affairs necessarily leaked out; and anticipations of the demise of the Crown, becoming general, spread disorder all around. Rebels appeared in some places, in others the payment of rents and taxes was withheld. In Gujarát the Viceroy, Sultán Murád, assumed the functions of royalty, as did his brother Shuja'á in

Bengal. Aurangzeb alone made no sign ; but Dára sought to anticipate any act of independence on his part by withdrawing the officers who, under Aurangzeb, were conducting the siege of Bijápur. Alarmed and irritated, Aurangzeb raised the siege and moved upon Aurangábád.

Among those who were summoned to Court was Mir Jumla, whom Aurangzeb would not allow to obey, putting him under close arrest. Naturally suspecting collusion, Dára imprisoned Mir Jumla's son, who was residing at Court. At the same time he moved with his father from Dehli to Agra, and on the 1st December 1657 despatched a force, under the ostensible command of his son Sulaimán, to check and chastise his brother Shuja'á, who had left his government and was advancing upon the capital. The real leadership of the Imperialists was exercised by Jai Singh, the able and accomplished Rája of Amber, who surprised and totally routed the indolent Shuja'á. The followers of the latter were taken to Agra, and there made examples in various ways, the Prince himself seeking safety in flight.

At the same time a second force was sent, under another Hindu leader, Raja Jaswant Singh, with orders to oppose Murád, and prevent, if possible, a combination between Aurangzeb and him. At the same time Dára gave his ambitious brother fresh excuse for opposition by ill-treating one I'sá Beg, who was Aurangzeb's representative at Court. Aurangzeb was informed of everything by his faithful sister. Provoked, if not justified, he at last determined upon action. He wrote to encourage Murád in active measures, and offered his humble services in putting him on the throne. This missive he promptly followed up in person, arriving at Burhánpur on the 19th February 1658. After a months'

halt he moved towards Ujain, and a junction was effected there or in the neighbourhood. The Imperial forces, under Jaswant, arrived in the middle of April, and gave the brothers battle a few miles westward of Indore, on the 20th. The assailants were utterly overmatched and defeated; Jaswant set the example of flight. A week later Aurangzeb entered the Gwalior territory, and, three days after, crossed the Chambal in full march for Agra. Being now convalescent, the Emperor entertained the project of going to the confederates, weak and infirm though he was, in order to endeavour to use his personal influence upon them. In this design he was opposed by the Nawáb Sháyista Khán, a secret well-wisher of Prince Aurangzeb. This noble was son of the deceased 'Asaf Khán, whom he had succeeded as Vizier, and was the brother of Aurangzeb's mother, the lady of the Táj. He is supposed to have been one of those who furnished Aurangzeb with intelligence at this crisis, whereby he was able to anticipate and provide against the movements of Dára. When the news of Rája Jaswant's defeat arrived, the Emperor, deeply regretting that Sháyista had persuaded him not to go till the time for his mediation had gone past, lost his temper, and forgot his dignity so far as to strike his brother-in-law with his cane.

It was, indeed, full late for negotiation. The rebels were at hand. The hot season had set in—that time when the country round Agra is parched by the sun and the terrible hot wind which drives the dust before it in almost impenetrable columns. On the 10th of May Dára sent his available forces to contest the passage of the Chambal at Dholpur; but they did not arrive in time. Aurangzeb—as we have seen—had already crossed in peace and safety. It was the 19th May when

the opposing hosts encountered at Samoghar, a few miles south-east of Agra. The heat was so intense that many succumbed, literally broiled in their own armour. Next morning the rebels began the attack, which was at first a duel of artillery. This was Dára's strongest arm; and, a forward movement being made presently by a brave officer from the Deccan, named Rustam Khán, there was a momentary chance of success. This Dára attempted to secure by advancing to the charge at the head of 20,000 horse. But the charge was repelled. Dára then turned against Murád; and, being bravely supported by his Hindu friends, was making some impression, when the fall of Rájá Rám Singh, their valiant leader, drove him back at this point also. All this time Aurangzeb remained in the rear, and took no part in the perils of those who were struggling to win him an Empire. At length the Rájputs cut their way through to the place where he sat upon his elephant, but appear to have been insufficient in numbers for the effecting of any durable success. At this juncture the gallant Rustam fell, with some other leaders. Disheartened and distracted, Dára dismounted from his elephant and got upon the back of a horse. His disappearance was the signal for the dispersion and flight of his followers, who were now no more than an unshepherded flock. Accompanied by his second son, Sipahr (Sulaimán had not returned from the expedition against his uncle), Dára galloped into Agra with not more than thirty horsemen in his train.

Murád, who had shown great steadiness in this hotly-contested action, was carefully tended by his crafty brother. His wounds were dressed, and he was warmly congratulated as one destined to sovereignty. The

unlucky Regent, meanwhile, overwhelmed with shame and sorrow, set out for the Punjáb without even seeing the Emperor. The deserted old man showed his fondness to the last by sending 5,000 horsemen after him as a guard.

Next morning the Emperor—as we are informed by his Italian doctor—perceived from the roof of his palace that the citadel was invested. The sight of immediate danger awakening his warlike instincts, his first impulse was to open fire on the camp of his rebellious sons. But the fire was probably returned in a manner which showed that their artillery was far stronger than any in the fort. Correspondence ensued, but the Emperor, while temporising with Aurangzeb, still endeavoured to do what he could for the help of his fallen favourite Dára. To the former he sent his daughter, the Princess Royal, whose feminine irritability was but a poor channel of diplomacy. Then the Emperor wrote an autograph letter, accompanied by the present of a sabre engraved with the word '*Alamgir*' ("World-holder"), which the rebel Prince adopted as an omen, and finally as his own title of sovereignty. The Prince also sent his son Muhamad to take charge of the city and protect it from plunder; the date of this measure was the 8th June, the battle having been fought on the 20th May, so that the "protection" must have come somewhat tardily to the citizens and their families. Five days later, Aurangzeb departed towards Dehli in pursuit of Dára, much as his grandfather had gone after Khusru at the death of Akbar more than half a century before. In the meantime the Emperor had found means to send a letter to the Governor of Kábul—the younger Mahábat Khán, whose father had been so useful to himself—in which that officer was directed to raise the country and come

down to Lahore for the assistance of Dára against his brother.

On arriving at Muttra (Mathurá) Aurangzeb threw off the veil that he had worn with Murád. That brave but savage Prince was arrested while suffering from the effects of a carouse, and sent in all secrecy, a prisoner, to Dehli, where he was confined in the Salimgarh, a fort near the palace. Soon after, Aurangzeb desisted from the personal pursuit of his eldest brother, Dárá, and quietly assumed the administration at Dehli, though without any ceremonial answering in any respect to coronation. He is, in fact, for the present, no more than "Protector of the Empire." The recent services of Sháyista were rewarded by his appointment to the post of Premier Noble, vacated by the death of 'Ali Mardán.

Meantime, he who still bore the supreme rank and title was made a captive in his own halls. A few days before Aurangzeb's departure, his eldest son (the same whom we have seen marrying the Princess of Golkonda) entered the Agra fort with a large body of armed men. A scene of confusion and bloodshed ensued; women shrieking, slaves running to and fro, guardsmen cut down in vain resistance. After a hypocritical address from his grandson, the Emperor was arrested, and possession of the palace taken in the name of the victors. This occurred on the 9th June 1658, which may, therefore, be regarded as the virtual end of the reign of Sháh Jahán. Aurangzeb had not seen his father; but letters had passed between them. There are a few words in the last of these which may be taken as illustrative of the light in which the usurping son desired that his conduct should be regarded.

God knows that this slave has not been acting in a spirit of opposition to the will and pleasure of his august father, as has

been wrongly supposed, but that he regards himself as his father's deputy, and will so continue. Only the due exercise of affairs and the protection of the people require him, with great regret, to usurp for a few days a more independent attitude. . . . It is a cause of deep dissatisfaction to him, if your august Majesty has undergone any discomfort or separation from friends. . . . Your servant thanks you for pardoning his offences, acknowledges the gift of Dára's jewels, and returns gratitude for all kindness.

Sháh Jahán lived nearly eight years more, dying on the 23rd January 1666. His captivity was shared and cheered by the faithful Jahánará, and his last sight, from the window of what is known to have been his bed-room, was probably the white marble mausoleum of the wife of his youth, glittering in the tempered beams of a winter which is fairer and brighter at Agra than in most parts of the world.

A few statements as to the taxation, revenue, and administration, with a list of the principal public works of the period, will be the most appropriate conclusion of a chapter on the reign of Sháh Jahán.

From the account that Kháfi Khán gives of the taxes remitted in the succeeding reign, it would seem as if the fiscal reforms of Akbar had not been perpetuated by his son and grandson. In the number of these taxes was a toll, or transit-duty, collected on every high-road and ferry, and again on merchandise crossing a frontier. Then there was the house-tax in towns, which was enforced on all the trading-classes, whether wholesale dealers, bankers, or petty costermongers; every shop, every stall, every square foot of ground occupied by an old woman's basket, contributed to this source of revenue. Collections were also made at fairs; presumably these were unlawful exactions on the part of lords of manors. There was an excise, a tax on disorderly houses, a cess of 25 per cent. on debts recovered through the Courts of Law. Kháfi Khán says that

there were in all eighty of these items, besides a tithe on grain which was estimated to yield twenty-five *lakhs* of rupees, and is an item not very intelligible. As Aurangzeb, on becoming Emperor, affected to remit all these vexatious imposts, it is plain that he meant to free the people from annoyances to which they had been subjected under his father; whom, indeed, in a respectful way, he reproved (in the letter already cited) for having failed in the protection of his subjects. Kháfi is careful to add that Aurangzeb's good intentions were greatly neutralised by the great vastness of the Empire and the impossibility of carrying out an incorrupt administration; so that, as he says, "the regulation for abolishing most of these imposts had no effect." The transit-duty, in particular, grew to such oppressive measure that, at the time when Kháfi was writing, goods doubled in cost between departure from the port or factory and arrival at the place to which they were consigned.

Of the revenue it may be conjectured, after comparing a large variety of estimates, that during the reign it rose from about seventeen millions of our money to a little over twenty.* If the author of the *Majáhs-us-Salátn* is to be trusted, the land-revenue alone amounted, at one part of the reign, to fifteen and three quarter krons of rupees; the rupee, as we learn from two independent European authorities, being worth fifteen pence of our money.†

Of the condition of the country under Sháh Jahán we

* Twenty-three *krons* is the estimate of Bernier in the latter part of the reign.

† Manrique gives the cash balance in the treasury (circ. 1645), at 198,346,666 Rs. See also Manucci and Tavernier, the latter of whom says that 14 Rs. were equal to 21 *livres tournois*. Further facts will be found in the next chapter.

have many statements, the result of them being favourable. Kháfi Khán, writing after the death of Aurangzeb, when there could be but little temptation to exaggerate the merits of Sháh Jahán, speaks highly of Sháh Jahán's justice and care of his people, while admitting his own veneration for Aurangzeb, who was a kind of Muslim hero. Rai Bahára Mal, who had been Dára's accountant, writing in the fortieth year of Aurangzeb, extols the late Emperor for the same qualities. Tavernier—who spent several years in India during the latter part of Sháh Jahán's reign—says that the Emperor “reigned not so much as a king over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family and children.” And elsewhere he calls him “this great king, during whose reign there was such a strictness in the civil government, and particularly for the security of the highways, that there was never any occasion to put any man to death for robbery.” Bahára Mal gives some details on these points. If offenders were discovered, he tells us, they were usually tried on the spot where the offence had been committed “according to law, and with the aid of the law-officers.” From these decisions there was an appeal to the Court of the Province; and if a party were still dissatisfied, there was a second appeal to the supreme civil or criminal authority, but only on points of law. Finally, His Majesty sate openly once a week—on Wednesdays—apparently for last appeals; but it was a rare matter if there were twenty cases for him to hear on any such day.

This is a clear and pleasing sketch of a system not greatly differing from that still in force in all parts of British India. As a financier Sháh Jahán was still more distinguished. In spite of campaigns carried on, as we have seen, from the borders of the Carnatic to the foot of the Pámir; in spite of a series of public works

among the most splendid and costly ever undertaken by one single administration, Sháh Jahán, at the end of his reign, had a treasury so well replenished that its contents were estimated at various large amounts, and formed a reserve which lasted half a century.

The public works of Sháh Jahán fall into three distinct classes :—

I. *Palaces and Tombs.*—The best known of all these works is the mausoleum of the Empress, known to Europeans as the “Táj Mahal.” Like our own Edward I., Sháh Jahán carried the remains of his consort to his metropolis, where it lay in a spot still marked in the garden during the long period (about eighteen years) while the sepulchre was being built. This tomb has been so universally praised, that a few words of explanation may not be improper. Fully admitting the scenic effect of the first *coup d’œil* ; when through the dark arch of the entry we see dome and minarets, the finest features of the tomb, behind an avenue of cypresses and a fore-ground of dark foliage, with a long line of fountains tossing in the breeze their light and pliant plumes ; admitting that the white sheen of the unsullied marble, with these accessories, shows like a vision against the clear blue sky ; yet we must allow for two things. The effect is not altogether what the artist intended ; and that artist was not an Oriental. Those who have seen other Indian buildings of the kind, who have seen old drawings of the Táj, or who have read the old records of the British Government at Agra, know that the present garden is of English taste, and that originally the building stood up without a screen, fronted by stiff masonry *parterres* planted with marigolds and lemon-trees ; the fountains, indeed, were there, but, once out of order, would never, probably, be repaired. Those who have read Manrique

know that he learned from Father Da Castro at Lahore how the designs were made by Geronimo Verroneo, a Venetian architect, to meet an estimate of three *krors* of rupees ; while there is every reason to suppose that the *pietra dura* decoration was done under the superintendence of a Frenchman named Augustin de Bordeaux.

It is conceivable, no doubt, that some suggestion may have been made to Verroneo by Sháh Jahán or 'Ali Mardán Khán, or someone who had seen the Himalayas. The typic thought may have been the mass of an Alpine glacier, proportioned by natural forces, with its glinting prisms in the morning sunlight, against a back-ground of blue ether, and fronted by a fore-ground of cedars framing it in their dark masses. But to be true Art-work, a thing so inspired should have been alike free from arbitrary outline and from capricious decoration. It should have been *necessary* in all particulars, so that the beholder should have felt that it could not have been otherwise ; and its aspect should have concluded controversy.

That is not the case of the Táj. It has been found fault with by good judges. As a building, and apart from its surroundings, it cannot be pronounced to be an organic whole. No relation can be discovered among any of the dimensions ; the outline of the dome does not express the inward form of the vault it covers ; the disengaged towers of the four corners have no use or purpose, either apparent or real. The fenestrations give little shadow outside, no light within.

Yet, masked by the modern garden, and consecrated by the repose of the whole scene—glittering, gleaming, distinguished—there is something about the Táj, as we now see it, which is perhaps unequalled by any build-

ing in the world for that mysterious fascination which we express by the single short word "charm."*

Of the other Agra works of this period, we may cite the Moti Masjid or "Pearl Mosque," to be classed below, and the marble palaces in the Fort, "marked," as Mr. Fergusson observes, "by peculiar elegance." These buildings were begun in 1628 and completed in 1637, about eleven years prior to the completion of the Táj.

Next in date to the palace buildings of Agra, and perhaps superior in merit, are the remains of Sháh Jahán's fort and palace at New Dehli—or Sháhjahán-ábád, as it is still called by Indian Muslims. Of the palace here, the same authority (Fergusson) says that "it is, or rather was, the most magnificent in the East—perhaps in the world." High praise from a critic who has such peculiar means of comparison as the historian of Architecture. It was in the twelfth year of the reign that the foundations were laid, as stated above; and in 1648 the Emperor entered the new fort by the river-gate (now disused), and held his first Court in the palace. The circuit of the fort is about a mile and a half; the river-side wall being about 60 feet high, and the palace buildings on a level with the summit. On the land side are yet higher walls, 45 feet broad at the base, with a broad and deep moat. Two barbicans, each 110 feet high, guard the main entrances on that side, two smaller gates opening on the side facing the Jumna. Within was a vast series of public and private halls and apartments, with a mosque, bath-house, and gardens; the whole permeated by a marble channel bringing in the bright and wholesome water of the canal. A

* Mr. Elphinstone, who visited the Táj on his way to Kábul, speaks of its "charm" and "taste." Though nearly 250 ft. high, it gives no idea of size. Zoffany said "it only wanted a glass case."

ground-plan will be found in Mr. Fergusson's valuable book above cited.

II.—Of buildings dedicated to purely religious uses, there are three specimens that are especially famous. Of these, the first is the Jama' Masjid of Agra, facing the main gate of the Fort. It was built in 1644–50, and is a fine building, bearing an inscription to the honour of the Princess Jahánará. In 1653 was completed the simple and chaste Moti Masjid of Agra (already mentioned), whose white marble arcades are suggestive of Italian influence. The date assigned to the great Jama' Masjid of Dehli is 1658—the last of Sháh Jahán's reign. It is raised on a rocky basement, and has three domes and two lofty towers each 130 feet high. Its outside area is 1,400 square yards, and the approach is up a flight of thirty-three steps. Three sides of the quadrangle are arcades, or open cloisters, the fourth being the sanctum itself, 260 feet long, with a depth of 90 feet. The hall of worship is floored in black and white marble, marked out for 899 worshippers. This mosque has also won high commendation from Mr. Fergusson.

III.—The works of public utility best known to us are the two irrigation canals above mentioned: the second—now known as the “Western Jumna Canal”—also serving to convey potable water into the interior of New Dehli, where the well-water is unwholesome and believed to produce sores in the bodies of those who drink of it.

These works alone are sufficient to distinguish the reign of Sháh Jahán. Doubtless, like some of his predecessors, he paid attention to roads and rest-houses for travellers, but, these having been largely provided before his time, he would not have the same reason for

attending to works of this class. Nevertheless, the whole impression of his epoch is that of a sumptuous and beneficent despot.

His treatment of Christians and Hindus is a blot upon his reputation, the more so because his father and grandfather had shown him the better way. Even in this respect, however, he is superior to most of his European contemporaries. He employed many Hindu officers; he allowed his favourite son Dára to do the same, and to associate with Christians; and the experience of Manrique shows that Christians were not persecuted as such, though the conduct of the Portuguese in Bengal got them into trouble. The Jesuit missionaries at Agra were never molested; and the Protestant merchants and travellers were treated with due hospitality.

NOTE.—It remains to indicate the sources of information as to the period treated in the above chapter. The native historians principally consulted are those whose records have been translated by Elliot and Dowson. First, in point both of time and of value, comes the *Pádshánáma* of Muhamad Amin of Kazvin, followed and expanded by Abdul Hamid; the *Sháhjahánnáma* of Ináyat Khán and others; all supplemented by the early part of Kháfi Khán's celebrated history. These are authors valued by the best critics: and in addition use has been made of the *Travels and History of the Revolution* by Bernier, a school-fellow of Gassendi and Molière and a protégé of Colbert, the great French statesman. Also of the remarks recorded by Baron Tavernier d'Aubonne, who travelled in India between 1651 and 1669, almost contemporaneously with Bernier. Constant reference has been made to the work compiled in 1708 by Father Catron, based on the memoir of Ma-

nucci, the Italian physician, who came to India about the year 1649, and resided there for the long period of forty-eight years. His descriptions of the family and Court of Sháh Jahán are those of an eye-witness ; but, unhappily, the good Father has edited them in such a way that one cannot always be sure what is Manucci's personal testimony. Otherwise, the observations of one who was actually Physician to the Emperor and his family would be of particular value and interest. The quaint old Spanish record of Maprique has already been described. He did not see very much, but what he did see is, of course, direct evidence. Kháfi Khán, Bernier, and Manucci are also our main authorities for the next reign.

CHAPTER IX.

ÁLAMGIR I. (AURANGZEB). A.D. 1659–1707.

AURANGZEB was in his fortieth year when he deposed his father, and he continued to hold his usurped position for nearly half a century. Yet this long reign is singularly deficient in material for an interesting record. And this for several reasons. The Emperor had the strongest objection to having the history of his reign written, insomuch that the best of the native chroniclers has to confess that, after the tenth year, he found the utmost difficulty in collecting information. Next, the Northern Provinces—with which this work is chiefly concerned—had been so thoroughly settled by the time that Aurangzeb became Emperor, that they were in the condition of the happy nations whose annals are a blank. And, finally, if it entered into our task to give detailed description of events in the Deccan and Carnatic—where Aurangzeb spent most of his time—those events present little beyond a monotonous series of vain struggles against a destiny prepared at once by the Emperor's qualities and defects. The attachment to Islám, which helped him to prestige, and the love of supremacy, which led him to usurp the Empire, were the two causes which ultimately combined to make him the author of its fall.

The means by which he gained his crown were not more nefarious than those practised by many other

ambitious men. When once he had consolidated his power, he manifested an unwearied devotion to duty—as he saw it—which only wanted success to have been glorious. We can see now why he failed. But there is no reason for supposing that he was inferior to any of his contemporaries, or that any spectator—at least, till nearly the middle of his reign—perceived that he had placed the Empire on a fatal incline.

Nevertheless, it is true that the period is dull and depressing; barren of great ideas, great transactions, and great men. With an abundance of energy, and many talents and even virtues, the Emperor was one of those singular human beings who combine a hot head with a cold heart; and, having the courage and ambition to achieve power, lack the unscrupulousness by which alone—in such conditions as his—power can be permanently supported and exercised. To this day his name retains its hold in the memory of Indian Muslims as that of the greatest of their rulers; and writers nearer the time can hardly find words to express their admiration of him who unquestionably prepared the ruin of his dynasty. His misfortunes were those of a bold, narrow-minded, suspicious, and centralising egotist. As his father said of him, in terms that he himself recorded, “Aurangzeb excelled both in action and in counsel, and was well fitted to undertake the burden of affairs; but he was full of subtle suspicion, and never likely to find anyone whom he would trust.” His failure is not so much a failure of Islám as a failure of over-government. He failed much in the way that Louis XIV. failed in France, and as all rulers are likely to fail who make their own feelings the measure of their subjects’ rights.

We have seen that, when Dará—despondent in

trouble as he had been rash and insolent in prosperity—hurried northward after the rout of Samoghar, his father sent a mandate to Kábul to move the Governor there to the fugitive Prince's aid. The Governor, however, took no steps, and Dára, in great alarm and perplexity, turned his steps towards Multán. After a number of weary wanderings he was at length betrayed by one, Jiwan Khán, in Sindh. Loaded with chains, the unprosperous Prince who had lately swayed an Empire was paraded through the streets of New Dehli on a sorry elephant, that all men might be witnesses that it was really he that was the captive. A disturbance ensued, which arose from his sympathisers, but only served to hasten his ruin. On the 29th August 1659 men were sent to decapitate him in his prison. He had prepared himself by an interview with Father Buzé, the Flemish priest; and his last words, according to Catrou, were: "Muhamad causes my death, but the Son of Mary is my Saviour." He had been the author of several freethinking treatises, and had long been unpopular among the orthodox. A translation of one of his books was made by Anquetil du Perron, of which an account will be found in the second number of *The Edinburgh Review*. From Dára's preface, given in English by the Reviewer, it appears that the book was a Persian version of one of the *Upanisháds*, a work which the princely editor openly preferred before the Koran and the Christian Scriptures (which latter he cites under the names of "Law," "Gospel," and "Psalms"). The book was not published till after Dára's death; but it affords a fair illustration of his rash and contemptuous character. It was the height of imprudence to attempt the part of Akbar before he had secured the succession, and he paid for the imprudence with his life.

On the 26th May of the same year Aurangzeb was proclaimed Emperor. The title which he selected was 'ALAMGIR, the same that had been incrustcd on the blade of the sabre sent him by his father when he encamped at Agra the year before. Changes were made in respect of laws and customs; all in the direction of a stricter Muslim observance. The "Iláhi" or solar year of Akbar, with its Persic months, was abolished; the Arab lunar computation and names being restored, in conformity with Muslim usage, and the new-year festival in March being entirely abolished. The edict for remitting the assessed taxes and customs, to which reference was made in the last chapter, was issued about this time; and a system of frugality and minute supervision was substituted for the profusion of Sháh Jahán; the Emperor at the same time adopting in his own practice a *regimen* of the most ostentatious asceticism, and professing to provide for his subsistence by the work of his own hands, in embroidering caps—which, we may be sure, never failed to find purchasers.

Mir Jumla and Sultán Muhamad (the Emperor's eldest son) were sent into Bengal against the Emperor's elder brother Shujá; but the Sultán chafing under Jumla's control, deserted to his uncle, whose daughter he took to wife. After a three-weeks' campaign Shujá was finally routed near Dacca, and fled to Chittagong. The nephew returned to his allegiance, but Aurangzeb sent him to prison, where he ultimately died. Shujá sought refuge with the Burmese, who probably put him to death in order to possess themselves of his treasure. He was heard of no more.

About the year 1660 arose a danger which was destined to grow year by year until it eventually overwhelmed the Empire. Little certain is known of the

Mahrattas in their first origin; it will suffice for our present purpose to note that they were a Hindu tribe settled in the Western Deccan, whose active predatory habits, in days of defective administration, brought them forward in virtue of the law of natural selection. One of their chiefs who, in the days of Jahángir, was in the service of the Nizám of Ahmadnagar, had given his daughter in marriage to the head of an immigrant family from Udaipur, called "Bhonsla." This man, whose name was Sáhu, or Sáhuji, entered the service of the Muslim king of Bijápur, and soon after—about May 1627—his wife bore a son who was named Siváji. Sáhu Bhonsla had the youth properly trained to the life of a man of arms and business; when old enough he was put in charge of the district of Poona. Being able and ambitious, he took advantage of the chronic mal-administration of the Deccan to raise a force of his own, with whose aid he rendered himself master of several hill-forts, levied contributions on the neighbouring landholders, and soon became a formidable public enemy. Early in 1660 Sháyista Khán was sent against the marauder; and for some time seemed in a fair way of success.

About the same time, Sulaimán, Dára's eldest son, being taken and sent to prison at Gwalior, all rivalry seemed to have disappeared. In 1661 the Emperor, adopting the tradition of his house, caused his son Mu'azzam (now Heir Apparent) to be married to a Hindu bride, the daughter of Rája Rup Singh. In of the two following years Shayista Khán met with reverse at the hands of Siváji, which covered him with ridicule. Mir Jumla conducted a campaign in Assam, in which he was partially successful, but died of the fatigue; and the Emperor's remaining brother, Murád,

endeavouring to escape from prison, was put to death. Máharája Jaswant Singh and Rája Jai Singh were sent to aid in the operations against Siváji in 1664, and in the following year the brigand chief was obliged to surrender, and was taken as a prisoner to head-quarters. Jai Singh answering for his good behaviour, he was pardoned and treated as a feudatory. After co-operating with the Rája for a few months, he was sent to Court, where, however, he was not received in a manner altogether satisfactory to his feelings ; and after a brief experience of Court-life, he made a sudden and unauthorised departure, returning to the wild country and wild life of his early predilections.

Next year Rája Jai Singh died in the Deccan, and Prince Mu'azzam was appointed Viceroy of that province. In 1668 the morose despot made one of those mistakes into which persons of his character are so apt to fall, by abolishing the use of the balcony in which it had always been usual for the Emperors to present themselves to the public once, or even more, during the day. Hundreds of thousands were deprived of an innocent pleasure ; the monarch lost touch (as the saying goes) of his people ; and in some eventualities the public might even be left in doubt as to whether the Sovereign were alive or dead. A further and most considerable step was the exemption of the property of Muslim traders from taxation, ultimately modified into a levy of two and a half per cent. on them, while falling at the rate of five per cent. on Hindus. These class distinctions are deadly in India.

About this time some disturbance broke out among the mountaineers about Swát, to repress which the Emperor proceeded northward in person. But when he had reached Hasan Abdál, he found the trouble

behind him far more threatening. The dates of the transactions are somewhat confused; but there is a document, to be quoted presently, which serves to show that Hindu persecution and consequent discontent had begun to be general about 1669. The first step appears to have been the demolition of Hindu temples, by order of the Emperor, in places as distant from one another as Multán, Benares, and Mathura (Muttra).

The author of the *Ma'áshir-i-Alamgiri* (Dowson, vii. 188) gives 18th April 1669 as the exact date of the beginning of these persecutions, and mentions the demolition of the temple of Keshab Rái at Mathura, and the erection of the great mosque still standing upon its site there, as having taken place at the end of the same year.

The first reprisals of the Hindus were committed by a sect of persons somewhat resembling the Shakers of modern America. There were four thousand or so of householders in the neighbourhood of Nárnaol, who adopted a peculiar costume, while continuing to carry on agriculture. They were bound to abstain from unlawful means of acquiring wealth, to injure no man, but not to submit to injury. They assumed the title of *Satnámí*, or "Truth-known," meaning, probably, persons known for truthfulness. Rising in retaliation for what they considered oppression, they came into notice about 1670, and occupied the town of Nárnaol, where they set up a temporary administration in the absence of the State officials, whom they had expelled thence. They even put to flight some bodies of regular troops, and drove them within thirty miles of the capital. The infection was spreading among the neighbouring landholders, and the Emperor was obliged to take the field in person. An action took place, in which the Satnámis

defended themselves with much valour until they were overpowered by superior numbers and exterminated. We have no exact knowledge of the duration of this rebellion ; but the way in which it is described by two writers shows that it was important, and prolonged some time.

The year 1671 was chiefly remarkable for vigorous efforts against Siváji, who was driven up and down the Deccan, but not taken, conquered, or even seriously daunted. The annals of Hindústán for the next few years are a complete blank. In 1678 died the able Rájá of Jodpur, or Márwar, Jaswant Singh, who had taken Dára's part in the war of the succession, but whom the Emperor had judged it prudent to pardon and employ in his own service. His death occurred while he was on service in the Kábul country. His family was sent to Agra, with the view of being conducted to their home in Rájpután. The bigotry of Aurangzeb induced him to attempt to secure the persons of the Rájá's sons, in order that they should be circumcised and brought up in Islám. The retainers resisting, a fight arose, in which the faithful Rájputs were only enabled to withdraw their charge from wrong by giving up their own lives. They were all killed by the troops ; but the delay enabled the fugitive women and children to reach their destination. One of these boys, in after years, married a daughter of the proud house of Udai-pur, and their daughter became the wife of another Emperor. But it was becoming daily more evident that the Emperor's policy was not of the kind calculated to maintain the influence of his house over men like those of Rájpután.

Aurangzeb's next error was even more fatal than any which had preceded. The remission of taxes in the

beginning of the reign had weakened the budget and rendered it inadequate to meet the chronic hæmorrhage of the Deccan wars. In 1680 the Emperor resolved on re-imposing the *jizia*, or poll-tax in lieu of death, from which the Hindus had been exempt since the beginning of the reign of Akbar. Renewed disturbances immediately arose ; the Hindus mobbed the Emperor whenever he appeared ; shops were closed in Dehli ; and all business came to a standstill. The unrelenting Emperor caused the crowds to be charged by his war-elephants, and numbers were crushed to death. At the same time an officer was sent to Jodhpur to bring away the idols from the temples there, which had been already razed to the ground. A similar act was perpetrated at Udaipur, where twenty of the guardians of the temple died fighting in its defence. We have records of the destruction of nearly three hundred temples, in various parts of Rájpután, about this time.

Moved by the sorrows of his race, and by the danger with which the Empire was threatened, a spirited and leading Rájput came forward with a vain protest :—

“Your royal ancestor, Muhamad Jalál-ud-din Akbar,” so wrote Rána Ráj Singh, of Udaipur, in these calamitous days, “conducted the affairs of the State in dignity and security for fifty-two years, keeping every class prosperous, whether followers of Jesus, of Moses, or of Muhamad ; were they Brahmans, were they Atheists, all alike enjoyed his favour. . . . Jahángir also extended for a period of twenty-two years the shadow of protection over his people. . . . Not less did the illustrious Sháh Jahán, in a fortunate reign of thirty-two years, acquire for himself immortal fame, the just reward of clemency and righteousness.”

This *résumé* of a hundred (lunar) years was pointed

into a bitter contrast with present doings. The letter had been seen in original by the historian of the Rájputs, Colonel Tod, and has always been admitted as authentic. It goes on at some length to argue out the irreligion, as much as the irrationality, of the Emperor's fanatical policy, and forms one of the monumental documents of history. But when did fanaticism ever bow to reason—or even to religion, in the higher sense of the word ?

In 1680 the Emperor experienced a few last gleams of good fortune. One was the death of Sivaji, which took place on the 5-16th June. The freebooter left a son to succeed in his command of the Mahrattas. The son's name was Sám-bha ; and he resembled Siváji in none of the qualities which had made him what he was—in energy, ability, good fortune, or in the personal virtues which had magnetised his men.

Another chance of prosperity was offered to the Emperor in the submission of the Rána of Udaipur, who availed himself of the mediation of the Heir Apparent to make his peace with the Emperor, by whom he had so long been persecuted. A treaty was made, and all appeared settled in that quarter. But new care was at hand. The Heir Apparent, it may be remembered, was now Aurangzeb's second son, Sultán Mu'azzam, a prince of high character and intelligence, almost slavishly obsequious to his austere parent. Two others of the Princes were named 'Azam and Akbar ; and all three were now ostensibly employed against the Rájputs, the war in the Deccan being entrusted to a foster-brother of the Emperor's entitled Khán Jahán. But now arises a family complication, due, evidently, to the great fundamental fault of the Emperor's nature. As his mixing of religion in his political system alienated the

Hindus, who were the majority of his subjects, so did his tendency to suspect everyone lead to domestic troubles which distressed his mind and diminished the strength of his administration.

So far back as the period of his return from Hasan Abdal, about 1670, he had begun to withdraw confidence from his son Mu'azzam, apparently one of the best of his subordinates. Henceforth his family was as troublesome as his Crown.

It may here, therefore, be convenient to take note of the members of the Imperial family as it existed at the time, particulars of which are to be found in a history of the time, the '*Alamgunāma*.

The Emperor's eldest son was Sultán Muhamad, whom we saw imprisoning his grandfather, then joining his uncle Shuja'á, and finally sent into custody, where he terminated his existence in his thirty-eighth year, about 1677.

By the same mother—a lady of Hindu blood, whose singular origin is noted in the *Turks in India*, p. 199—the Emperor had a second son, whom we have hitherto known as Mu'azzam, born four years later than Muhamad.

The third son, 'Azam, was born in 1658, the offspring of a Persian mother.

By the same lady was a fourth son, named Akbar, now—1680—in his twenty-third year, and employed in the war against Rájpután.

The fifth son was named Kámbakhsh, his mother being a Hindu lady named Udaipuri Mahl, believed to have been of the Sisodia clan from Jodhpur. Born in 1667, Kámbakhsh had the faults of a king's son, and his fate will be found mentioned in the next chapter.

There were also five daughters, one born so late as

1704, when her father was nearly ninety years of age. We learn from Manucci that the first breach of confidence between the Emperor and his second son, Mu'azzam, which has been mentioned as having been noticed ten or twelve years before the period at which we have now arrived, was neither serious nor of long duration. When, therefore, the eldest brother, Muhammad, was dead, Mu'azzam was regarded as heir to the Throne. But when the present Hindu friend of the family, Rájá Jai Sing, and the able statesman, Rájá Jaswant, had also passed away, the rebellious chiefs of Rájpután bethought themselves of the youthful Akbar, whom they persuaded to head their quarrel in the hope of obtaining the succession for himself. This obliged the Emperor to employ Mu'azzam with as much trust as his character allowed him to repose in anyone. It was then that Mu'azzam was summoned from his post in the Deccan, 'Azam being at the same time called up from Bengal, and both being directed to watch their younger brother (and each other) in the conduct of affairs in the Rájput country. 'Azam came up by forced marches; but the milder-tempered Mu'azzam advanced with reluctance, and wrote to his erring junior, attempting to control his errors by remonstrance. The Emperor, offended and alarmed, addressed a severe reproof to his eldest son, whose character he never understood.

Mu'azzam, whose conduct throughout was that of a wise and loyal son in great difficulties, hastened to his father's presence, bringing with him his two young sons and placing himself unreservedly at his father's disposal.

An animated, though prejudiced, narrative of what ensued will be found in Tod's *Rájasthan*. The historian

of the Rájputs ascribes to Prince Akbar a feeling of compassion and sympathy with "the gallant bearing of the Rájputs in this unequal combat"; alleging that, so late as some time in the year 1681, the Prince continued to display active loyalty, and even inflicted a defeat on the Hindus with the aid of his lieutenant, Tahavar Khán. But Tod is obliged to admit that "ambition came to the aid of compassion," which is evident, for Akbar assumed the attributes of sovereignty and soon openly took sides with the Rájputs. But he soon showed as great haste in retreat as he had in aggression; and was, ere long, in full flight pursued by Mu'azzam. Mr. Wheeler, to whom we are indebted for a study of Aurangzeb's reign from the European point of view, ascribes Akbar's sudden flight to a letter which the Emperor addressed to the Prince, as if replying to a despatch in which the Prince was supposed to have been only pretending to conspire with the Rájputs. The letter, by arrangement, fell into the hands of the latter, and caused them to believe themselves betrayed; on this they withdrew their support, and their defection led to the flight of Akbar. There is nothing in what we know of Aurangzeb to prevent our believing this story, which may have come to Manucci's knowledge. It is also told, as a common rumour, by Kháfi Khán.

Akbar had only his personal escort with him, a handful of Mughol horse and a few Hindus. Planning an escape northward—where the humanity of his elder brother left him a line of possible retreat—he threaded the defiles of Baglána and took refuge with Sambhá, the new chief of the Mahratta freebooters. The Emperor moved to Burhánpur, intending to bar the northern route: from thence he proceeded to Aurangábád. Mu'azzam and 'Azam led two separate corps against the

Mahrattas. Alarmed by these measures, and not relishing the manner in which he was treated by Sambhá, Akbar resolved on adopting the only route that remained open, the sea. He accordingly chartered a couple of small vessels; of which the one in which he himself embarked was cast away on the territories of the Imán of Muscat. By him he was delivered to the officers of the Sháh of Persia, and finally assigned by that sovereign a residence in Khorasán, where he ended his troubled career in obscurity about the end of the reign.

It was in 1683 that Aurangzeb collected all the forces of the Empire for a grand and final attack upon the Deccan. The eastern kingdom of Golkonda, or Haidar-ábád, was the first to feel the blow. Mu'azzam, who was in command, took Golkonda; again undergoing censure for his lenient treatment of the enemy. Aurangzeb at first temporised, and endowed him with the title by which, until his accession to the throne, this Prince was henceforth known—"Sháh 'Alam," meaning Lord of the World; but the Emperor concluded the campaign in person. At the same time, Bijápur was finally reduced, after a protracted siege, in which the chief command was, nominally at least, held by Prince 'Azam.

In 1686-7 the suspicions of the Emperor once more fell heavily on his eldest son; and the estrangement increased until at last the mild and gentle Prince was arrested on a charge of collusion with the Muslims of the Deccan. Having taken this harsh step the Emperor was seen to retire into the harem, wringing his hands and crying in his anguish, that "the labour of forty years had fallen to the ground." 'Azam Sháh, the third son, continued in favour, and was for some years to come his father's chief adviser.

The times were growing dark, and the power for which the old man had committed so many crimes and borne so many toils and cares, was becoming a more and more burdensome possession. One son dead in prison, a second living in durance, and a third in exile ; a land ravaged by war, pestilence, and famine ; these, as we have reason to know, were heavy sorrows. To them was now to be added the discovery that the conquests of the Muslim kings had been worse than barren ; having only served to bring the straining vessel of the State into unrelieved contact with the true danger, the rising tide of Hindu disaffection. About this time—somewhere towards the middle of 1689—Sambhá, the son and successor of Siváji, was surprised by the officers of the Mughol Government as he was carousing in a garden with a vulgar associate. Apprehended and brought into the Imperial presence, the rebellious pair broke into reviling ; on which the Emperor, with a loss of temper not habitual to him, caused them to be put to death with torture.

In 1690 two armies were sent forth, one under the Prince 'Azam Sháh, the other led by a high Turkman noble entitled Firoz Jang, son of the Chancellor of the Empire and father of the well-known Chin Kulich Khán, afterwards the founder of the still existing dynasty of Haidarábád. Sambhá had left a bad reputation and a disputed succession ; but the great fort of his father at Rájgarh still held out for whosoever should prove the Mahratta leader.

Northward, another Hindu tribe was becoming dangerous. The Jats plundered, near Agra, a royal convoy on its way from Kábul, the officer in charge being slain in the attack. In reprisal, the Emperor issued an edict to the effect that no Hindu should be carried

in a palanquin or ride an Arab horse—so little progress had Muslim humanity made since the days of 'Alá-ud-din.

About the end of 1691, Sháh 'Alam, whom we have called the Heir Apparent, was enlarged from captivity, and was ere long engaged in chastising the Jats. The Emperor had gradually relaxed the Prince's arrest for some time, and had sent him several kind messages; but the immediate occasion of his complete forgiveness and restoration to paternal favour was the death of his mother. It is pleasing to find this austere despot pardoning his son under the influence of a calamity common to them both. *Mentem mortalia tangunt.*

About this time the Mahrattas began to gain substantial successes in the valley of the Bhima, a river that flows southward through the Bijápur country. The Emperor moved his head-quarters to Bairámpuri, a small place about midway between Kulburga and Satára. His general, Tahavar Khán, was routed and left wounded upon the field, and he himself was almost surrounded by the daring freebooters. He was heard to say that "the creature could do nothing, for all was in the Creator's hands." In the Carnatic matters were no better. The young Prince Kámbakhsh, who was in nominal command there, quarrelled with Zulfiká Khán, a general of whom we shall hear more; he was a connection of Sháyista Khán, and had lately been made Amir-ul-Umra. The Prince had to be put under arrest, and in the midst of their troubles the Imperialists—cut off from communication with the Emperor—were suddenly attacked by the Mahrattas. With difficulty they beat off their assailants, and Kámbakhsh was taken to his father at Bairámpuri, by whom he was released.

Aurangzeb was more fortunate with the Portuguese of

Goa and the English of Bombay, with whom he was annoyed for coining rupees, but with whom matters were adjusted through the instrumentality of the historian Kháfi Khán.

Santá, the ablest of the Mahratta leaders, shortly afterwards blockaded one Imperial force till it surrendered, and overthrew a second, killing the leader and capturing the elephants and the baggage. Family troubles were not wanting. 'Azam bitterly resented the pardon of Sháh 'Alam (Mu'azzam), by which his hopes of the succession were affected: his resentment, indeed, became so open that it was judged wise to exile him to Kábul in the capacity of Viceroy. Nor was Nature more kind. In 1695 the Bhima, rising in sudden flood, swept away the Emperor's cantonment with tents, furniture, horses, and cattle, and human beings, estimated at twelve thousand. Then another Imperial general was wounded and captured; he ransomed himself at the expense of the mercantile community of Nandurbár, where his defeat had happened; and the unhappy monarch could only exclaim that "there was no use in fighting when you were too weak to win."

The Emperor at last perceived that his only hope lay in an aggressive attitude, and accordingly proclaimed a holy war against the Mahrattas, and gave orders for the siege of Satára. Santá was by this time (1698) dead; on the other hand, the Imperial army was entrusted to the command of 'Azam—who had been recalled from Kábul—and the chief of the Mahrattas, brother of the deceased Sambhá, was a fugitive on the hill-side. All seemed to promise well; the siege was obstinately pressed, the aged Emperor taking part in the attack "as if in search of death." The fugitive Rája died during the siege; the curtain of the town was blown in

by mining ; at length the Governor surrendered, and was admitted into the Imperial service. The fall of Parli followed. Soon, however, Aurangzeb, in his usual manner, withdrew his confidence from 'Azam, who was sent away to Ujain. Tára Bai, widow of the late Rája, took up the leadership of the Mahrattas, and displayed the courage and resource so often shown by Indian ladies. The next few years were passed in renewed beating of the air. Forts fell, to be succeeded by new forts ; armies were dispersed, to be reassembled elsewhere after the lapse of a few days ; the whole Deccan was scoured and ravaged under the direction of Tára Bai. Amidst these increasing woes the health of the brave old bigot began to give way. In 1704 he had a succession of fits, but he rallied and resumed his labours. It is impossible for us, with all that we see of his mistakes, to withhold admiration of his resolution and staunchness, shown when his personal repose was shaken by sickness, his dignity outraged by the misconduct of his sons, his camp insulted by the menaces of his implacable foes.

He sought a little rest at Ahmadnagar towards the end of 1705. 'Azam wrote for permission to visit him there, alleging that his present station disagreed with his health. But Aurangzeb recollected his father's illness in 1658, and wrote back to 'Azam that "any air was better for a man than the air his ambition gave itself." Unabashed, the Prince continued his solicitations, and ultimately obtained a grudging permission, appeared at Court, and began to make preparations for a struggle which he foresaw to be at hand.

The aged sovereign's mind continued vigorous and his senses unimpaired. In all his long life there had been apparent a self-examining spirit which now began to

assume the character of remorse. The voice of conscience rings through his latest letters to his sons. To one he wrote : " The transient enjoyment of power has left only sorrow behind. I have not been the guardian or protector of the Empire. My precious time has been squandered on trifles. . . . " To another : " I depart and carry with me the fruit of my sins. . . . Alone I came, alone I go. . . . Wherever I look I see nothing but God. . . . I have committed many crimes, and I know not with what torments they may be punished. . . . The guardianship of my people is the task that God commits to my sons."

Meanwhile, 'Azam took such measures as he could. His brother Akbar died at this moment ; Sháh 'Alam was away in Kábul, where he had succeeded to the government. Kámbakhsh was at Court, jealously guarded by orders of the Emperor ; but his elder brother's designs became so transparent that, for very existence sake, he had to be sent away to safe keeping at Bijápur. 'Azam was, at the same time, directed to return to his post at Malwa.

At length came the end. On the morning of Friday the 21st of February 1707, after performing his morning devotions, the Emperor breathed his last in uttering the creed of Islám, his failing fingers still handling the beads of his rosary. He was aged ninety lunar years and seventeen days ; it appears doubtful whether he had made any real provision for the succession. A document professing to be his will contains the words, " Whichever of my sons may be so fortunate as to obtain the Empire " ; an unstatesman-like, if philosophic, invitation to them to settle the question by an internecine conflict and the survival of the fittest. It is the sentence of Kháfí Khán—an authority of the highest

reputation, among Europeans as among natives—that his veneration for the religious law of Islám weakened his hands by rendering him unwilling to employ those measures of severity without which his vast and precarious power could not be preserved. “So every plan and project that he formed came to little good; and every enterprise that he undertook was long in execution and failed in the end.”

His remains were carried to Aurangábád, and there deposited in a tomb that had been erected in his lifetime hard by the shrine of Shaikh Zain-ud-din, about fifteen miles from the city. In the same neighbourhood is the tomb of his daughter; intended to be an imitation of the Táj Mahl of Agra; but, like most Asiatic imitations of European designs, it is but a poor performance. Such as it is, it may be taken as a type of the architecture of the reign, which is a mere school of decadence.

Such is a brief but, perhaps, sufficient *résumé* of the events of this long yet not very important reign; only remarkable for misfortune, only pregnant with decay. For an account of the state of the country, as seen by European travellers, readers may be referred to Mr. Talboys Wheeler's *History of India*, vol. iv. The abstracts of the descriptions will be found well selected and arranged in that work; but such accounts require constant comparison with native records, for they contain gossip, fable, and not a little utter misconception. One thing is abundantly clear; the organization of the Empire under Sháh Jahán had been successful. During the whole of Aurangzeb's protracted reign the older provinces remained peaceful, even though the whole force of the Empire was gradually withdrawn into the South. Neither in once-turbulent Bengal, or still more

turbulent Afghanistan, was there any trouble sufficient to attract the notice either of the visitors or of the chroniclers.

The Empire was divided into twenty provinces during the greater part of the reign. From various sources we may learn enough to warrant the conclusion that the total revenue of these averaged, first and last, about twenty millions of our modern sterling. As much higher estimates are often taken (see, for example, *The Imperial Gazetteer*, article "India"), it will be proper to state the grounds of this assertion. The author of the *Bádshánáma* puts the revenue (at the conclusion of Sháh Jahán's reign) at twenty-two *krors* of rupees—giving details for each province of which this was the total. MS. records cited by Mr. Thomas (*Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 33–35) give twenty-four *krors* as the net income in the earlier years of 'Alamgir (Aurangzeb). The revenue for 1666, according to a European contemporary (Thevenot), was 375,750,000 French loires (say twenty-five *krors* of rupees). Manucci—at a somewhat later period—makes it nearly thirty-two *krors*; adding that the value of the rupee was *trente sols*, or fifteen pence. [In this latter statement he is confirmed by Tavernier, who says that, at that time, fourteen rupees were worth twenty-one *livres tournois*.] But the revenue fell again before the reign was over.

By this they mean more than merely the land-revenue, though clearer information would be desirable. But the separate revenue was fluctuating and indeterminate. Mr. Elphinstone is of opinion that Aurangzeb's new taxation "produced a heavy loss to the State," because—though the imposts were extorted everywhere by the officials—the money failed to find its way to the public fisc, the trade and general welfare of

the country suffering meanwhile. No doubt there were also escheats and fines; but their amount must have depended upon too many accidents to form a steady budget-item. Possibly, after the re-imposition of the *jizia*, the grand total of thirty millions may have been obtained, as stated in *Harri's Voyages*, though not for very long.

From what has been here recorded it will be clear that Aurangzeb—though unlike most of his illustrious house in respect of the main features of his character—was not only a conscientious ruler, very attentive to business, but was (on the whole) averse to bloodshed and violent measures. If we desire to realise for ourselves the state of things that, with such conditions, he succeeded in bringing about, we find the question beset with difficulties, and even with conflicts of evidence. The native historians do not go much into the matter, though more than one is far above the average of care and ability. But they were, generally, retired courtiers, soldiers, statesmen, who dwelt upon the negotiations and intrigues of which they were cognizant, and upon the campaigns and sieges in which they had shared, without perceiving that the people at large were anything more than breeders of soldiers, or producers of commissariat supplies.

Nevertheless, we have some testimony. Bernier, in his well-known letter to Colbert, drew a picture of administration and social life which was unfavourable to Aurangzeb, and indirectly flattering to the state of France under his patron. On the other hand, we have, in the *Institutes of Alamgir*, proof that such evil as existed was not, as formerly, the fruit of Turkish indolence. The Emperor had an aim ever before his eyes, which was the revival of the Muslim ideal, by virtue of

which the faithful were to enjoy peace and a light taxation. With this object he was vigilant, strenuous, consistent—almost anything but successful, or just to the Hindus.

In the long run his policy failed, mainly because everything was referred to a religious basis of authority, and because the extension of a supposed Holy Empire was regarded as more important than the providing for the welfare of a secular society. Moreover, Aurangzeb's system had a direct tendency to minimise in the Hindu mind—and the Hindus were, perhaps, 75 per cent. of his subjects—a good deal of that sanction of law to which Orientals are most disposed to pay respect. Let a ruler, clothed and armed with the attributes of power, say blankly to his subjects, "Do this, for it is my will," in the East there will be an immediate disposition to obey. But when a ruler, in endless and evident difficulties with foreign foes and domestic disaffection, says, as Aurangzeb did, that his officials are to be guided "by the enlightened law" of a prophet (whose mission is not acknowledged), and that disobedience will meet with eternal punishment (in which the people do not believe), the step from the sublime to the ridiculous has been almost cleared.

Nevertheless, Bernier found that, in Mughol India, administration was more active and less corrupt than in other Eastern lands. "Those persons," he says, "whom the Mogul sends into the provinces to write him whatever passes there do a little keep the officers in awe. . . . As also the governments are not so often sold, nor so openly, as in Turkey . . . and the governors ordinarily remain longer in their governments, which makes them not so hungry, so beggarly, so deeply in debt . . . even apprehending lest the people should

run away to the Rájás." In all marks of civilisation the Indian Mughols—always according to Bernier—excelled the European Turks, probably by reason of their having more Aryan blood. But the absence of a sense of secure ownership in land and other property was ruining society in India, and in other Oriental Empires.

In his letter Bernier dwells upon the extent of the country, the circulation of gold and silver, the riches, forces, justice of the States of Asia, with the causes of their decay. "Throughout these parts," he wrote, "we see almost no other towns but what are made up of mud and dirt, nothing but ruined villages or such as are going to ruin." But he allows that Persia and India were both more prosperous than the Turkish Empire, where the Tartar element ruled without check or mitigation. In Persia and India he found large cities where manufactures were carried on, and where trades were practised, justice being systematically administered in them under direct supervision by the Government.

But it is necessary to observe two cautions regarding the unfavourable portion of this testimony; first, that it was contained in writings prepared for the purpose of pleasing Colbert by showing what a specially good administration was his, and how happy the French were made thereby; secondly, the writer had also undertaken the support of a particular thesis, namely, that the assertion of the State's ownership in land was adverse to the progress of society. Now, on each of these points there is some allowance, evidently, to be made. It will be admitted by most persons that Arthur Young, Tocqueville, Taine, do not give a particularly pleasing account of the condition of France under the Bourbons. It will be also granted that the State's ultimate right in the soil is one that has never been, and never can be,

altogether abandoned in the most progressive society ; and is not only constantly upheld by theorists, but is, to this day, at the bottom of the fiscal system of France and other civilised nations. It is, in fact, not the mere assertion of a public interest in land that is injurious, but its undefined exercise and the uncontrolled expenditure of the proceeds.

We also observe from Bernier's evidence that the Tartar or Turkish element in the system of the Mughols was alleviated, not only by Persian influences, but by the employment of Hindus and Hindustáni Muslims. Sháh Jahán owed his throne to a Pathan general ; and the proportion of Hindus among the grandees of his reign was larger than it had been under the tolerant and latitudinarian Akbar. Let us recall the significance of this, remembering that, even under the narrower system of Aurangzeb, not only were loyal Hindus, like Jai Singh and Jeswant Singh, members of the peerage, but that such stubborn foes as the Mahratta leaders were occasionally admitted to its ranks. Siváji's grievance when he absconded from Court was that he was only given a command of the grade of " five thousand," and not one of " seven thousand," which he deemed his due.

The generic word for all these grandees was (as we saw in treating of Akbar) *mansabdár*, the word meaning, conventionally, " holder of a military dignity conferred by imperial patent." The *mansabdárs* were graded according to the number of men-at-arms that they were supposed to maintain. Those above the grade of " five hundred " were all designated *amirs*, or lords. The highest grade, for ordinary subjects, was that of " five thousand " ; above that were higher grades, such as that to which Siváji aspired, but they were

reserved for Princes of the blood. Of the *amirs* between "five hundred" and "five thousand" there were latterly nearly six hundred, of whom about one-fifth might be Hindus. In the days of Akbar they received large salaries, out of which they were expected to provide a certain minimum number of men, according to their respective grades, as also a proportionate establishment of elephants, horses, camels, and carts. They were under the nominal superintendence of a high officer of State, entitled *Amir-ul-Umra*, "Premier Peer," or "Captain-General."

This military hierarchy, however, differed from a feudal aristocracy in some respects. No Muslim system contemplates hereditary privilege. A waterman has, in Eastern countries, sometimes risen to command the army to whose wants he had ministered; an able palace-slave has often become a sovereign. On the other hand, the sons of an *amir*, though they might have some claim to preferment, would not inherit their father's *mansab*. They would, perhaps, begin life, as he had done, as *ahdis*, or unattached cavaliers, with some slender following which it would be their object to increase gradually by dint of service. Their father's property, even, was regarded as an official perquisite which, instead of being divided among them, was liable to escheat on his death. If the sons, therefore, obtained some small outfit and allowance, that was as much as they could expect. Nevertheless, under the Indian Mughols, these men so far formed a patrician class that they usually benefited by their birth. The son of Bairám Khán rose, as we saw, till he became chief of the staff under Akbar. In a later reign Ináyat Khán was made *mansabdár* at the age of seven, owing his premature preferment to the fact of his deceased father being a man of high position

and influence. The case of Mahábat's son has also been noticed. Bernier affords details of the place held in Aurangzeb's system by these *grandeess*. The Emperor, he tells us, determined the number of effective horsemen that each was bound to maintain; and from this they derived their income. Dánishmand Khán—in whose suite Bernier was—had a "*mansab* of five thousand"; his actual force was five hundred horsemen, and his salary left him a balance of 5,000 Rs. after these men had been paid. But Bernier adds that many of the *mansabdárs* in his time were paid by grants of land, which gave them better incomes. Probably the method of territorial assignments became more and more usual as the increasing cares of the ruler afforded less time for the details of administration. For the gradually advancing accretion of such fiefs into principalities which tended to become independent did, as we shall see, accelerate the final disruption of the Empire.

Of these *grandeess*, or lords, twenty-five were in waiting daily. The minor *mansabdárs* who were not *amirs* were dispensed from regular attendance at council or *levée*, but had to attend parades and musters; their pay ranged from 200 Rs. to 700 Rs. monthly. The pay of an *ahdi*, or exempt, was from 25 Rs. and upwards, according as he had from one horse to five.

The artillery was numerous, and—latterly—divided into field-batteries and siege-trains. Under early Emperors the gunners had often been Europeans, or Indo-Portuguese. But Aurangzeb replaced them by Muslims, thereby introducing, it is fair to presume, a new element of decay into his power.

As to the general state of the country, the testimony of Manucci is more favourable than that of Bernier. He notes particularly the uniform administration of

justice. Each Province had a viceroy, each district a governor, each considerable town a mayor; and all held Courts, on the pattern of that of the Emperor, to decide causes concerning the property and lives of the subjects. Also, in every such centre was a *Kotwál*, or provost-marshal, to superintend the police, and a *Kázi*, or ecclesiastical judge, for religious and matrimonial causes. Procedure was simple, trial prompt. Perjury and corruption were capital charges. Manucci considered the institutions of the Empire not, indeed, as free from defect, yet "little inferior to those of any other nation."

The Italian physician ends his account with a tribute to the ability and energy of Aurangzeb, a ruler of whom even the prejudiced Bernier is compelled to urge that he was "no barbarian, but a great and rare genius, a great statesman, and a great king."

A few words are all that can be here added as to the state of the law and the general habits of the community.

It is to be inferred from the reports of contemporary European visitors, that life and property were not so well protected in Aurangzeb's India as in the England of the Stuarts or the France of Colbert. In India, as in Europe, there were numbers of petty chiefs claiming indefinite powers in their localities; in India, unlike Europe, there was an absence of strong urban corporations. In the rural regions, doubtless, an approach to municipal organization existed in the famous "village system"; but it was one which allowed a good deal of internal crime and positively abetted predatory habits at the expense of neighbours. Then, even more than now, the life of the peasant, of the artizan, of the retainer, was squalid, and—in time of peace at least—mono-

tonous and dull. Their women carried loads, or sate in the shade making manure up into cakes of fuel; while the men braved the fierce sunshine, scratching the surface of their fields, in the intervals of lifting the cattle or breaking the heads of the people of the next village. Whenever one of them died his wife was expected to give her living body to share the cremation of her dead lord, unless, indeed, she preferred a life of domestic slavery and grudging pittance. Added to these evils was the enormous curse of chronic plunder. Bands of outlaws, discharged soldiers, professed brigands, followers of petty chieftains, wandered about subsisting by rapine while awaiting the call to war.

The tribunals, on the maintenance of which the Mughol Governments always prided themselves, must have had a busy time. Purely municipal law might not be very generally appealed to—except in large towns—by a population of men provided with arms and habituated to the redress of their own grievances. But the correctional tribunals would have their hands full. Their procedure was swift—a current proverb ran to the effect that prompt injustice was better than tardy justice. Professional advocates and “the law’s delay” were absent. But the absence of lawyers at the bar was more than balanced by the presence of lawyers on the bench. Hindus as were the bulk of his subjects, Aurangzeb treated them to as much Muslim law as had been used by the narrowest of his predecessors of the earlier dynasties.

The penal code of Islám has the incurable fault of professing to spring from Divine Revelation. We can form some notion of this by imagining a London magistrate administering Leviticus, and sentencing a costermonger to death for selling oranges on Saturday. Even

so, we should have but an imperfect idea of the tyranny of Muslim law, or of the terrible, though uncertain, severity of its punitive sanctions. And it would involve the supposition—perhaps not always justifiable—that the stern casuists who presided over the Courts were as honest and impartial as they were indifferent to human suffering.

Murder, for example, was classed among torts calling for a sentence of retaliation: the complainant was *dominus litis*, and the offence might be compounded by a money-payment. In a second class came such matters as offences against property, drinking wine, and committing adultery; all punishable by statutory penalties mostly capital. The third class comprised the residue of unscheduled offences which were dealt with, at the discretion of the magistrate, by penalties which might range from riding backwards on a donkey to mutilation or death. And not only was it practically less dangerous to commit a murder than to take a glass of wine, but whether a homicide was murder or not, was made to depend not on the motive, but solely on the instrument employed; so that it was a more heinous crime to shoot a man by accident than to stab him in cold blood with a pen-knife. Lastly, the procedure abounded in pedantries which must be acknowledged to have been eccentric to puerility. No wonder if the Hindus avoided these Courts as much as they could, and endeavoured to settle disputes among themselves by tribal, or communal, arbitration.

Not less cumbrous and oppressive was the revenue system which—in deference to his religious zeal—the Emperor substituted for the sensible and humane methods of Akbar. An abstract of Aurangzeb's revenue law will be found in the English version of the *Institutes*

of that monarch by Mr. N. B. E. Baillie. And the system was enforced in a decree issued in 1688 from the Home Office to the provincial accountants, in which the disobedient are threatened with “temporal *and eternal punishment.*”

Revenue regulations thus framed and thus sanctioned are not likely to have been happy in their operation. The imposition of the *jizya* alone made a difference to the Hindu tax-payers of about cent. per cent. It does not matter whether the proceeds found their way to the Treasury, or whether they were embezzled by the collectors. In either case the impost was resented by the people as a duplication of their burdens and a perpetual badge of conquest. The formal and pettifogging persecution of Aurangzeb was more exasperating to the Hindus, and more fraught with mischief to the Empire, than had ever been the blind bloodshedding of the most brutal of the old Muslim rulers.

NOTE.—The sources of information have been sufficiently indicated in the text. They are, for the most part, the same that have been followed in the preceding chapter, in treating of the reign of Sháh Jahán.

Book II.

CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTION OF THE EMPIRE OF HINDUSTÁN IN THE PERIOD OF ITS GREATEST GEOGRAPHIC EXTENSION.

At the death of Alamgir the Empire had attained its extreme limits, though the cohesion of the extremities was becoming enfeebled. Kandahár was lost; and all claims to Balkh and Bukhára were virtually allowed to lapse. Aurangábád, Bijápur, Bidar, and Golkonda, were tributary provinces, troubled by the greed of the Mahrattas. The control over Kábul and Bengal was growing weaker than under Sháh Jahán; though, actual insurrection had not yet occurred.

As described by Abul Fazl, in the 40th year of Akbar, the Empire, if more compact, had been much less extensive. Instead of the twenty provinces nominally, at least, held by Alamgir, the Empire of Akbar consisted of no more than fourteen, of which ten were in Hindustan; and the rest on its immediate frontiers, namely, (1) Multán and Thatta (making up what is now called "Sindh"); (2) Kashmir and Kábul (forming, in union, the north-western outwork); with (3) Khándes; and (4) Gujarát.

The following specification of each province, as it is

known to have existed at and after the time of Abul Fazl, is abstracted from his work, compared with later lists. It has not been thought necessary to add the figures from the separate *Taksim Jama*, or detailed rent-rolls. Apparently prepared at a different time, they do not entirely tally with the facts recorded in the descriptive portions of the *Am Akbari*. Nevertheless, the totals of these rent-rolls do not exceed the other estimates very seriously, excepting where they include items of customs' revenue.

Each province was on the scale of the average European kingdoms of those days. The most easterly was Bengal; forming (with its maritime dependency Orissa) a wide and fertile tract assessed at about one-and-a-half *kror* of rupees. Bahár (often united with Bengal under the title of "The Eastern *Subahs*") was the very finest part of the Gangetic valley, both in climate and natural advantages. It had, both to north and south, considerable chains of hills; abundant streams irrigated the soil. The land-revenue was over forty-three *lakhs*. Taking the rupee at fifteen pence, the aggregate of these sums represents something less than three-quarters of a million of modern money. The chief towns were, probably, Lakhnauti (or Gaur), Mangir, and Patna.

Next came two fine provinces—Allahábád and Audh (or "Oude"), often held by the same Subahdar, or Viceroy; and each resembling Bahár in size, character, and climate. The capitals were, respectively, at Allahábád (Prayág) and Faizábád, two towns which bore the same names as the provinces in which they were situated. Prayág—Allahábád—was an old Hindu holy place, situated at the confluence of the Jumna with the Ganges. Here Akbar built a great castle, which

substantially, still exists ; and it was, and still is, a place of strategic importance. Faizábád—then called Audh—was on the Ghágra, and is now ruined. The aggregate land-revenue of the two provinces was about a *kror* and a third.

Agra, or Baiána, was a compact division extending from Kalpi on the east, to Riwári on the west, and from Aligarh, or Koil to the southern boundary of Nárwar. The chief city was called Agra, and the fortified part Akbarábád—after Akbar. The fortifications—which still subsist—include many palatial structures, and its lofty gateways add to its imposing character, though it may not be very strong for purposes of modern warfare. Besides the metropolis other towns occupied the various divisions, such as Gwalior—a place of great natural strength—and the land-revenue was over two *krors*.

Málwa—a large province formed out of a conquered kingdom—stretched from the borders of Allahábád to those of Gujarát. The climate was much esteemed and the fertility proverbial. It corresponds, roughly, to what is now Holkar's territory, and contained the Hindu city of Ujjain, besides Mándu and Indore. Land-revenue over sixty *lakhs*.

Khándes was a small but pleasant province lying between the Narbada and Tapti rivers ; and, therefore, not strictly in the confines of Hindustan proper. It was conquered, as we have seen, in the latter part of Akbar's reign. Crossed by the Satpura range, its chief place of strength was the hill-fort of Asirgarh ; but in time of peace the Governor occupied the more commodious town of Burhánpur, not far from the foot of the same mountains. The land-revenue was only about seven-and-a-half *lakhs*.

Gujarát, an old Musalman kingdom, was of great extent, largely washed by the Indian ocean; and contained the city of Ahmadabad, and other large towns besides. The Portuguese had a settlement at Surat, of which we often hear during the reign of Alamgir. The revenue exceeded a *kror* of rupees, and customs were also levied at the sea-ports.

The so-called "*Subah* of Ajmere" was one of the largest provinces, almost conterminous with the modern "*Rájpután*." But it was scarcely part of the Muslim Empire, since the native dynasties were never wholly displaced or deprived of sovereign power. There were three ancient chiefships, Mewar, Márwar, and Harauti, whose modern equivalents are Udaipur, Jodpur, and the group of Kotah. Other principalities grew into importance, of which the chief one was called at first Dundar, then Amber, and finally Jaipur, the name by which it is known to-day. The country was fine, but hilly, and the population was hardy and warlike. The revenue was nothing more than a tribute—estimated by Abul Fazl at 571,000 Rs., and paid by the Hindu chiefs whenever payment could be compelled. They were there before the Muslims came: they are there when the Muslims are gone. Ajmere was a favourite resort of the Emperors, and they took wives from Jodpur and Amber; but the Rájputs preserved a considerable amount of independence through the whole period.

Dehli was a province of average size, with a revenue from land of one *kror* and a half. The *khálsa*, or demesne, round the metropolis furnished almost the whole Crown income during some of the later reigns.

Lahore was a province of rather larger dimensions, with a nearly identical revenue. The capital gave its name to the district. Looking towards Kashmir and

Kábul, and enjoying a long cold weather, this was a favourite residence of some of the Emperors ; there was a large palace in a strong fort, and considerable relics of those buildings still remain.

Multán was a long strip of sandy country lying along the left bank of the Indus. The revenue was nearly forty *lakhs*, and the capital a place of great strength.

Thatta was the name given to the remainder of the Indus valley, the revenue being about one *lakh* and sixty thousand rupees.

Kashmir, with the scarcely less romantic hills and dales of Kábul—the Asian Piedmont, separated rather than connected by the mountains of Dardistan and Swát—such was the sub-alpine region of Asia's Italy, valued for climate, scenery, and sport. The revenue is estimated by Abul Fazl in rice and sheep, with twenty *lakhs* for the division of Kábul proper. Thomas estimates the total yield at not less than eighty *lakhs*.

Of Balkh, Badakshan, and other northern fragments the possession was precarious, and soon entirely ceased. The provinces mentioned were those which formed the permanent paying territories of Akbar's Empire ; and, with some addition from separate revenue, produced a yearly income of about ten *krors* of rupees. This continued to be the condition of things under his immediate successors. The authorities that have been here consulted differ enough to lead to the suspicion that none were completely accurate ; but there was a period of about fifty years during which the Empire was something like what is here described. The revenue of these provinces rose eventually to about twenty-two *krors*.

Alamgir acceded to an Empire of some fifteen provinces, to which may be added a titular sovereignty over the wild country of Gondwána, almost entirely occupied

by hill-tribes, and yielding little or no revenue. As already stated, the revenue, according to Thevenot, was 375,750,000 French livres in 1666, about twenty-five *krors*; Manucci—later, though nearly contemporary—gives it at over thirty-one *krors* of rupees (at 1s. 3d.). Latterly, as we have seen, the Empire consisted of twenty provinces, but the Mughol officers had to fight with the Mahrattas for the revenues, and the country became much impoverished; we shall see in the sequel how much the first Nizám had to do for its recovery when—in all but name and a small tribute—the Deccan became independent.

The accompanying map has been prepared in relation with the subjoined list of provinces and their revenues given by Manucci about 1689. It shows the utmost extent of the Empire which was attained at that time, and reduced greatly and rapidly soon after.

In theory—and usually in practice, so long as the central authority remained—the system on which these provinces were ruled was that of a Dual Control. The province, indeed, like the Empire, would be under one ruler, the Subahdar, or Viceroy. But there were two distinct lines of administration below, each province having its divisions, each division its districts, in which the finance was under a *duwan*, or accountant—usually a Hindu—while the police and general management devolved upon an officer called, in the division, “Názim,” in the district, “Faujdár.” Thus, as will be seen hereafter, by the treaty that followed the battle of Buxar, the Nawáb (Lieutenant) of Bengal continued to bear the title of Názim, while the sinews of war and the reality of power fell into the hands of the East India Company, under the name of the “Diwáni.” There was a central department of State to control the land revenue, its work

being chiefly confined to looking after freeholds and endowments, which were granted and revoked in a manner apparently arbitrary. There was also a sort of Primate, or Chancellor, over the Kázis, or ecclesiastical judges in Musalman law, of whose administration some notice has been taken in preceding pages, especially in dealing with the reign of Alamgir, or Aurangzeb. But from this system the Hindus held aloof, maintaining unpaid tribunals where they appealed to their own sacred texts, and got awards that were sanctioned and executed by the force of public opinion.

Of military matters it is impossible to say much generally, because the system varied with the varying abilities and opportunities of the sovereign. We have seen that the efforts of Akbar were in favour of a standing army paid in cash; we have not been without evidence that the tendency of practice was ever more and more in the direction of a loose feudal levy of troops paid out of assignments of land and led by private chiefs. This inherent characteristic of the Mughol system—so complete a reversal of the order of European ideas—must have been a powerful factor in the disintegration of the Empire. In the one system, as in the other—whether supported by assignments or paid in cash—the armies never got beyond a mediæval organization. Cavalry was the nucleus and vital element, and it consisted of men-at-arms and free cavaliers, loosely disciplined and led by amateur officers. The armament of these horsemen consisted of a cap and coat of chain-mail, with sabre and target; the officers, in addition, wore a morion with a visor, which concealed the face, and four plates of steel, called *chár aina*, on breast and shoulders. The chain-mail worn by the higher classes was wrought of pure steel rings, and the whole weighed scarcely ten pounds. But,

however little oppressive may have been the weight of this armour, its effect on a hot Indian day, when the thermometer in the sun would have registered 140° Fahr., must have been serious. The generals rode on elephants, and their *haudas* were plated with iron. The infantry consisted of archers, matchlockmen, and, sometimes, of light companies of spearmen. The artillery was of two classes, light culverins on elephants and camels, and very heavy guns, which usually remained in position until the battle was lost or won. These, with the rocket-batteries, were chiefly manned by Christians; and under their management the field-pieces became somewhat more mobile, till we gradually hear of guns being advanced with the infantry. The heavy ordnance continued to be stationary.

Fought under such conditions, and upon alluvial plains destitute of topographic peculiarities, most of the battles present a strong resemblance one to another. The camps were protected by earthworks and abattis, and the guns were in front, or (at the utmost stretch of strategy) some were enflanked on one side, or slowly brought into action on rare occasions. The heavy horse charged each other while the infantry slowly advanced under cover of the charge, and prepared to pick off the leaders on their elephants. When one of the chiefs was killed, or sent wounded out of the field, the whole of his men were wont to turn into a mob and seek safety in headlong flight. Bernier remarked that 25,000 veterans of Condé's army, led by Turenne, would "trample under foot all those armies."

The Mahrattas somewhat innovated on this method of fighting; and one of the most interesting passages in Elphinstone's classic work, is that in which he contrasts the equipment and procedure of the enterprising but not

very heroic Southerners with the ostentatious splendour and orthodox formality of Mughol warfare. Slowly the new system of armament and manœuvre crept in. The English and French in India opposed to the cumbrous and unsystematic militia of the country their own more scientific arrangement of battalions and batteries. The quicker minds among the native leaders took the hint. In the latter part of the eighteenth century we shall see the curious spectacle of two kinds of war opposed, which students of European history are wont to consider as completely remote as is a modern gun-boat from a Roman trireme. The last great battle fought purely on the mediæval system was that in which the Afgháns overthrew the Hindus on the famous field of Panipat in 1761. Even here the system of drilled musketeers played a part ; but it was a small and not very effective part. The infantry of Ibrahim Gárdi was on the losing side, and though its effect was noticeable—and was evidently not without its impression on the mind of one of the combatants, the subsequently famous Mahdaji Sindhia—yet the battle was decided by hand-to-hand fighting and charges of heavy horse.

Fluctuating features of war and of the pursuits of daily life, have been touched upon in the various chapters of this History as they varied from reign to reign. Some further idea of the theory of the Mughol Empire, as laid down by its greatest statesman, is to be found in the *Ain Akbari*. Of this work something has been already said in the chapter where its publication was noticed (Book I., chap. vi.). But, in case of there being any reader who desires to know more of the attempt to make a harmonious whole out of the elements present in Hindustan, a few further particulars may here be added, in elucidation of Akbar's principles.

And before doing so it may be permitted to give an instance of the impression produced on the mind of the British statesman who made the next serious attempt in the same direction.

In recommending Gladwin's translation of the *Ain* to the patronage of the Court of Directors, Warren Hastings thus wrote, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century: "This work comprehends the original constitution of the Mogul Empire described under the immediate inspection of its founder. . . . It will show where the measures of their (the Directors') administration approach to the first principles which, perhaps, will be found superior to any that have been built upon their ruins, and certainly most easy—as the most familiar—to the minds of the people."

Hastings was fully justified. The key-note of the book is a sense of union and of order. Abul Fazl was a man of business habits; and he goes through the whole private and public establishments in a spirit of entire harmony, yet with a minute attention to detail. We learn that Akbar's household included no less than five thousand women of various ranks, enregimented with military precision and receiving monthly pay at fixed rates.* We have a description of arrangements for the royal progresses; we learn the order in which the camp was pitched—Sultán Daniyál with the chief Empresses in the centre, Salim on the right, Murád on the left. We learn how the household was supplied with potable water, what was the price of ice, and how the water was cooled when ice was not to be obtained. A full account of the management of the kitchen is

* Though a polygamist from policy, Akbar recommended monogamy to his subjects; and towards the end of his life observed that if it were to begin again, he should have nothing to do with marriage, or any intercourse with women save as sisters.

given, and of the preparation of food and perfumery. The prices of cloths, shawls, draperies, and haberdasheries are detailed, from which we find that the cheapest of all kinds of velvet was what came from Gujarát, or from Europe, and so on. An account of the Emperor's books and pictures follows, and the names of the painters which are recorded show that several Muslims had overcome the prejudices against this art which is inherent in the creed of Islám, and is a remnant of the spirit that breathes in the Second Commandment of the Hebrew Decalogue. Among other things of this sort, Akbar possessed an album in which were bound up portraits of all the principal officers of the Court. There is a list of the current prices of warlike weapons. From the description of the artillery it appears that some of the guns were of large calibre, even asserted to have thrown a projectile nearly half a ton in weight. There is a chapter on elephants, with rates of daily food for each sort, and an account of their servants and harness. The arrangements for breeding, stabling, and feeding the royal horses are recorded; the stalls at Fatehpur are still to be seen, occupying three sides of the court-yard in front of the beautiful two-storeyed house traditionally named after Bir Bal; the Emperor's full establishment was twelve thousand horses; but in the Fatehpur stables he seems to have kept only forty for his personal use.

The manner in which His Majesty laid out his time is stated, and shows the same orderly character. "Always feeling after God and His truth, the Emperor practises austerities both outward and inward; and occasionally takes part in public worship to still the tongue of slanderous bigots. . . . Knowing the value of life, he never wastes his time. . . . every act of his day

may be regarded as an act of worship. . . . He especially examines himself when morning spreads her silken azure and her young beams of gold ; at noon, when the light of the sun, embracing the universe, becomes a source of joy for all ; in the evening, when that fount of light is withdrawn from sorrowing eyes ; and at midnight, when that cause of life turns again to bring back cheerfulness to a darkened people. . . . Zealots call all this a deification of the Sun, and an introduction of fire-worship ; but I shall dismiss them with a smile." After adding that His Majesty fasted often, sometimes abstaining from flesh-meat for months at a time, the writer adds that he took but one meal in the twenty-four hours, and only slept a little at evening and morning, passing the night in philosophic discussion, and in the business of administration. In the last watch of the night there was usually a concert ; after which the Emperor rested till dawn. Soon after day-break he showed himself at a window in front of which a crowd of persons, private and official, was already in waiting ; and he then retired once more. After the first watch of the day he went into his Hall of State, where he gave audiences and dispensed justice. "He does not reject what superficial observers call unimportant ; and, counting the happiness of his subjects as essential to his own, allows nothing to disturb his equanimity." The Emperor's apostolic mission is fully set forth. Gladwin excuses this assumption of spiritual leadership as having had a purely political motive ; but it is more probable—judging from what Christian missionaries and other contemporaneous writers have recorded (especially Badaoni) that Akbar seriously believed in his mission, and thought himself capable of enlightening and instructing mankind. In this case it

is the more creditable to him that he never withdrew his favour from the many Hindu and Muslim officers who refused to join his religious college or Order. He even seems to have cherished Messianic dreams, and to have fancied that he was the *Mahdi*, whose appearance one thousand years after the founding of Islám signalised the close of the dispensation. Blochmann (*Ain*, p. 209) gives a list of eighteen members of Akbar's college, but thinks that there may have been others: more than half are literary adventurers; the only distinguished military nobles are the Khán 'Azam and Mirza Jáni Beg, of Thátha in Sindh. The writer of the *Dabistán* supplies an interesting comment on this: "Akbar," he says, "paid no regard to hereditary power or pedigree, but favoured those whom he thought excellent in knowledge and conduct."

Among remaining matters contained in the *Ain*, a prominent part is taken by the list of grandees, called *mansabdárs*, which has afforded Blochmann the opportunity of recording a biographical account of the members of Akbar's peerage, which is one of our most valuable sources of information on the history of the reign. The standing army is also described: it comprised artillery, cavalry, and matchlockmen or musketeers, all paid in cash. The flower of the cavalry was a force organized by Akbar, under the title of *Ahdís*, or "Units." These were gentlemen cadets, or exempts; not liable to sentry or fatigue duty, and each followed by inferior men-at-arms, four or five in number. The description of the land revenue system has been summarised above, in treating of Akbar's reign. It may be added that, from the list of repealed imposts given in the *Ain*, we derive confirmation of the opinion that the land-revenue was the only large source of income; and that separate

revenue of an equivalent amount had existed under former rulers, but had been abolished by Akbar. The total of his revenue, with a few items of customs, came to nearly ten *krors* of rupees. As this estimate is far from universally admitted—in fact, is opposed by the highest modern authority—it may be as well to give a short recapitulation of the facts on which it is based.

“In the fortieth year of the reign,” says Abul Fazl, “the revenue was settled at the annual rent of 362,975,546 *dams*, or Rs. 90,749,881, 2, 5.” Adding up the detailed lists that follow, which include some miscellaneous items, we get a total of Rs. 99,613,850. A contemporary writer, to whom we have been much indebted in the course of the foregoing narrative (Nizám, ud-din Ahmad), says that it was “640 *krors* of *murádi tankas*.” As “*muradi tanka*” means only “copper coin,” and as, after due inquiry, it seems quite certain that the indigenous copper integer of the country was the *paisa* or *pai*, of which sixty-four went to the rupee:* these estimates tally closely, and we are pretty well assured that ten *krors* was the total of Akbar’s revenue in the year 1595 A.D. Before the end of the reign Berár and Khándes were annexed, and the figure elsewhere recorded as the total on Jahángir’s accession supports our conclusion; for it is stated by an enterprising English traveller, Coryat, to have been twelve millions sterling in the reign of that emperor. The Rev. T. Coryat, Vicar of Odecombe, was a friend of Ben Jonson’s, who travelled much and made inquisitive observations in Eastern lands during James the First’s reign;

* Akbar coined a *dám*, forty of which went to the rupee, but it is never called *tanka*. It is noticeable that Jahángir in his memoirs says: “In no reign before mine had *tankas* been coined except in copper.” This is not true, though the corruption “*takka*” still means a *paisa*.

and there can be no doubt about his estimate, which is forty millions of crowns of six shillings each (£12,000,000).

As to the sterling value of the revenue of ten years earlier we are not so clearly informed. In after years the rupee was valued at fifteen pence, as we learn from two independent sources.* Whether it had depreciated since Akbar's time can only be conjectured. Akbar's rupee, as we learn from the *Ain*, was of the value of forty *dams*, which was then about the value of three bushels of wheat, or half the price of an average sheep. In a later reign the united revenue from Khándes and Berar was Rs. 2,69,12,500, say two and three quarter *krors*. If we take Coryat's estimate as a correct one for the Empire after the addition of those provinces, and subtract from it two millions as the probable revenue of them at the time, we reach, perhaps, the sum of ten millions for the fortieth year, before their annexation. If we suppose the rupee to have become depreciated (as, after nearly a century of trade with Europe it might in Tavernier's time), this sum may perhaps be assumed to be the equivalent of the ten *krors* recorded by Nizám and Abul Fazl.

The rest of the Third Book is devoted to a detailed description of the provinces that formed the Empire in 1597 ; namely (1) Bengal-Bahár, (2) Allahábád-Audh, (3) Agra, (4) Málwa, (5) Khándes, (6) Berar, (7) Gujarát, (8) Ajmer, (9) Dehli, (10) Lahore, (11) Multán-Thátha, (12) Lashmir-Kábul. Then follow chapters on the world, as then known ; with a particular and sympathetic sketch of the state of Hindustán and its inhabitants, these being depicted in terms very different from the pessimistic language which has been above extracted

* Manucci and Tavernier, *temp.* Aurangzib ; *vide suprà*.

from Bábar's memoirs of seventy years before. "The Hindus," writes Akbar's friend, "are pious, affable, courteous to strangers, cheerful, fond of knowledge . . . lovers of justice, able in business, grateful, admirers of truth, and of unbounded fidelity in their dealings." Of their religion he writes that they only use images as a means of turning their attention to God ; and though they acknowledge a Trinity, it is only as a manifestation of the One Supreme Being, "as the Christians regard their Messiah," some even insisting that the Three Sacred Persons were only men, of peculiar sanctity and righteousness. He admits the truth of much of the disparagement they had formerly incurred by backwardness of material civilisation and comfort, which the Emperor had done much to rectify by teaching them to cool their drinking-water and to temper the hot winds of summer by the use of *khas tatties*.*

Next comes a treatise on astronomy, one on geography, one on castes ; an account of the *fauna* of the country, of the various weights and measures, of the philosophic systems of the Hindus, of the rise and fall of Buddhism —of which some professors were still to be found in Kashmir, of music, of Hindu law and religion, of marriage and other ceremonies, and of Hindu festivals. There are also a few chapters on Muslim saints and sects ; and the last division consists of a collection of Akbar's apophthegms and doctrines, none of which has ever been translated into English, so far as the present writer is aware.

The general character of the book is evidently high

* This will be understood by Anglo-Indians. Abul Fazl says that Akbar "caused mats to be woven of odoriferous grass, which, being wetted, cause the air of rooms to be cool and pleasant in the hottest weather."

and original, at once synthetic and analytic, like all the best work of the kind. Instead of a laudation of war and a glorification of miserable Court intrigues, we find Abul Fazl bringing forward, in a manner never attempted by mediæval writers, the tastes, habits, and thoughts of the subject races. The result is calculated to give a pleasant view both of the author and of the ruler by whom he was controlled and inspired. In all the long and blood-stained Book of Kings we may search in vain for a brighter name than that of Akbar, the many-sided, the maker of Hindustán. And, whatever credit be due to the intelligent counsels of Abul Fazl must still redound upon the monarch by whom they were adopted.

It is for such reasons that the reign of Akbar and the account of the institutions that he founded have been dwelt upon at a length disproportionate to the scale of the remaining portion of this work. All that was vital and pregnant in the Musulman history of India is, in a manner, centred in his region and period; and whatever was at all stable in the succeeding periods owed its impulse to these times, whose fruit, indeed, is still to be discerned underlying the best portions of the British system of administration—especially in the three respects of revenue management, employment of natives, and complete religious toleration. We are next to see how the Empire crumbled as these subjects ceased to be held paramount.

CHAPTER II.

BAHÁDUR SHAH. A.D. 1707-12.

WITH the brief reign of Bahádur begins the story of the decline and fall of the Empire. Naturally, the steps from one period to another were not sharply defined in the eyes of contemporaries ; and even now, in looking back on them, we can observe gradations like those by which one hue passes into the next among the colours of the rainbow. Nor were the character and position of the Emperor by any means such as to justify any immediate alarm among such well-wishers of the State as had survived the aged and strong-willed despot whom he succeeded. Colonel Tod, the enthusiastic historian of the Rájputs, admits " the virtues of Bahadoor, the son and successor of the fanatic tyrant," and " the short lustre of his sway." The Deccan troubles were, for the time, appeased. Other regions that had given almost as much trouble to earlier Emperors had been long since beaten into quietness. Neither in the Kábul country nor in Bengal was there any active opposition. The Emperor still gave audience seated on the Peacock Throne, and round him stood the vigorous Paladins of his father's later period ; the manly, though blind, veteran, Firoz Jang, and his mighty son, Chin Kalich Khán, the leaders of the Turkmán party, the " Amirs

of Turán," as they were called ; and the Persian family connected by so many ties with the Imperial house—whose heads were Asad Khán and his son Ismail, or Zulfikár Khán. Chief in merit as in power—though not in official or ostensible rank—was Muna'im Khán, son of Sultán Beg Birlás ; also a Turkmán, though never deflected by party-ties from the path of duty to his master. Some preliminary trouble, however, had to be gone through.

At the time of Alamgir's (Aurangzeb's) death his eldest son was Governor of Kábul. It has always been believed that the deceased Emperor had so far relaxed from his long-cherished doubts of this Prince as to have designated him as his heir ; but the evidence of the alleged order to that effect is not convincing. In any case it was not recognised by the second son, 'Azam, who was in closer proximity to head-quarters, and able to command the services of Zulfikár and his father, and of the Grand Army. Nevertheless, Sháh 'Alam (as the elder must still be denominated), ably advised by Muna'im (who was Viceroy of the Punjáb), determined to strike for what he deemed his rights, even though (as he himself said) he were forced to fight a duel for them with his brother single-handed. Descending from Kábul with his immediate following, he effected a junction with Muna'im at Lahore, and despatched his son, 'Azim-us-Shán, who had been Viceroy of Bahár under the late Emperor, to seize the fort and treasury at Agra. His brother and competitor advanced to meet him from the Deccan ; but this Prince's movements were hampered by his want of money and by the scarcely-concealed rivalry of his son Bedar Bakht, who had many friends among the officers of the army. He also suffered from the want of artillery, an arm in which the other side was

particularly strong. Ill-paid and undisciplined, his troops plundered the country as they went.

There are two accounts extant of this short campaign, the liveliest being by Irádat Khán, who was an equerry of the young Prince Bedar Bakht, and whose narrative is that of a straightforward soldier who professes to relate nothing but what he actually witnessed.

It was the beginning of the hot season when the competitors, from their respective quarters, set off for Agra, each being preceded by his son at the head of the advanced party on each side; the real leaders, respectively, being Zulfikár with Bedar Bakht, and Muna'im with 'Azim-us-Shán. Early one hot morning in June the two parties reached the opposite banks of the river Chambal at Dholpur; and, Bedar's party having eluded the vigilance of their opponents and crossed the river unperceived, the force under his cousin fled back to Agra, abandoning their guns.

Elated by the easy triumph awarded him by his father for this success, Bedar moved carelessly on, closely followed by the main army. In the meantime Sháh 'Alam, who had gained possession of Dehli and Agra, had found in them the sinews of war in the shape of all that remained of the once enormous treasures that had been accumulated by Sháh Jahán. Out of this booty two *krors* of rupees (nearly two millions of our money) were distributed to the troops as an immediate largesse. The contrast between this well-timed liberality and the penurious and pillaging proceedings of his rival was a true harbinger of the result. Nevertheless, the moderation which had always characterised Sháh 'Alam continued to mark his conduct. He dispatched a letter to his brother, in which he offered to divide the Empire with him. These terms being refused, he then proposed

to meet 'Azam in single combat, and decide the quarrel without shedding the blood of any other person. At the same time Sháh 'Alam sent on his camp to Jájar, half-way between Agra and Dholpur.

Hardly condescending to send any reply to these offers, the rash and haughty 'Azam moved on in loose order, captured his rival's tents, with all the baggage accompanying, and made a prisoner of Rustam-dil Khán, the officer commanding the baggage-guard. He then advanced a few miles nearer to Agra, and encamped on the barren and dusty plain, where his troops experienced great suffering for want of water. On the other side, the army of Sháh 'Alam was advancing on the line of the river Jumna, over the ground on which Dára had been encountered and defeated by Aurangzeb nearly fifty years before.

Zulfikár Khán and other experienced veterans now submitted to 'Azam that the success of the day had been sufficient for the day ; it would be advisable to halt and rest the army on the banks of a stream which Bedar Bakht's vanguard had already secured ; the delay would not only refresh the troops, but afford an opportunity for their well-wishers on the other side to come over. While the council of war was still urging these unwelcome cautions upon the haughty prince, the battle was precipitated by the action of the other side. Far to the right, on the line of the river, appeared a vast cloud of dust, which, to the experienced eyes of Irádat the equerry, betokened the advance of fifty thousand men. He was at once sent to the main body under 'Azam, still about three miles in the rear ; and having with difficulty discovered 'Azam's litter, he dismounted and delivered his news. With furious looks, "and pulling up his sleeves as was his manner, when excited,"

the Pretender called for his elephant, and haughtily bade the equerry return to his son, and tell him to have no fear, inasmuch as his father was at hand. Irádat galloped back to his master in time to witness the opening scene. Out of the mighty dust-cloud now emerged a long and hostile line, led by the sons of Sháh 'Alam, who hurled upon their opponents a tempest of round shot and a hail of musketry. The men-at-arms, confused by a raging hot wind that blew in their faces, and impeded by a mass of elephants, baggage-cattle, and camp-followers, were unable to deploy. A charge, attempted by a brave officer named Khán 'Alam, led to no other result but the death of the leader, who was shot by Prince Azim-us-Shán. Zulfikár Khán and his following of Rájputs met with no better fortune; two of the Hindu chiefs were slain, and Zulfikár retired first to his Prince's post in the second line, and thence, after tendering advice which was haughtily spurned, galloped off to Gwalior, where he brought the news that all was lost.

And so it proved. In vain the leaders of the Bárha Saiads—Abdullah and his brother Husain Ali, of whom we shall hear more anon—descending from their elephants, gathered their followers round the Pretender and attempted to guard him to the last. In vain Bedar Bakht, from his howdah, did his best to urge the flagging energies of his bewildered ranks. A musket-ball laid him dead on his elephant. A new whirl of dust was presently wafted towards the Pretender, out of which issued the sons of his competitor, at the head of a select band. He ('Azam) was the next to fall, and his head was cut off by his prisoner, Rustam-dil, the captain of the enemy's baggage-guard taken in the morning's skirmish. His second son fell soon after, and all resistance presently ceasing, shouts of victory arose from the army of Agra,

and Rustam-dil repaired to Sháh 'Alam's presence and laid before him the gory head of his ill-fated brother. Dismissing the bravo with a frown of indignant contempt, the victor turned to receive the congratulations of his sons and other officers, offered thanks to the Almighty, and at once devoted himself to protecting and comforting the surviving children and the ladies of his late rival's family. He then embraced Muna'im, and ordered the bodies of his brother and nephews to be duly cared for, and conveyed to Dehli, where they were buried in the enclosure of the Emperor Humá'un's mausoleum.

This decisive battle was fought in the tremendous heat of an Agra June, and no pursuit was either necessary or possible. On the morrow, Muna'im was presented with the unprecedented donation of a *kron* of rupees; while messengers were sent to Gwalior to call in Zulfikár and his father A'sad, who were pardoned and raised to high rank.

Asad became nominal prime-minister, with the title of *Vakil-i-Mutlak*; his son was made Paymaster-General. But the real power was entrusted to the faithful Muna'im, who at once devoted himself to introducing order into the administration. Sháh 'Alam ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Bahádur Sháh.

The honest soldier, Irádat, though he fought on the opposite side with zeal so long as it existed to be fought for, yet bears warm testimony to the virtue and prudence evinced by the conqueror throughout this trying period. Though he was in his sixty-fourth year, and by nature mild and moderate, there was no want of resolution in Bahádur Sháh's conduct when he found that mildness and moderation were useless. He was generous and merciful, magnanimous, munificent, affable, and ready to discern merit. Schooled in adversity, he had watched

the exploits and errors of his father, and had been versed in affairs for half a century. He was a good judge of character; "it is a fact," we are told, "that the deserving of whatever calling or degree, received unprecedented attention from the throne."

In spite of his great expenses in the campaign, and of his age (which was such as to favour a love of money) the new Emperor displayed a sumptuousness which caused his Court to recall the memory of his grandfather Sháh Jahán. Seventeen of his sons and nephews sate round the throne, while a little farther off stood the sons of subjugated princes. The platform within the silver rails was thronged with nobles to whom the monarch frequently gave presents. "How," says Irádat, "can I describe every particular of this splendid scene?" Tod, taking the Hindu view, is equally encomiastic, asserting that the Emperor had many qualities that endeared him to the Rájputs, and adding that, "had he immediately succeeded the beneficent Sháh Jahán, the house of Taimur—in all human probability—would have been still enthroned at Dehli." Like Sháh Jahán, Bahádur had Hindu blood, and might perhaps have looked for Rájput support on grounds of consanguinity and patriotism. Even the Mahrattas seemed somewhat conciliated. Sáhu, the grandson of Siváji, had been set at liberty by 'Azam before he left the Deccan, and was gathering followers, not for rebellion, but for opposition to the administration of Tára Bai. His first public act was to pay a visit of honour to the tomb of the late Emperor between Aurangábád and Daulatábád, where he restrained his men from plunder, out of respect for the mighty dead. The Emperor deserved the sympathy of the Hindus; for, like Akbar and Dáur, he was a student of their philo-

sophy ; so much so, indeed, as to incur the suspicions of his own co-religionists, who accused him of heterodoxy. The Khánkhánán also (Muna'im) was philosophically given, and wrote a book which was thought to transgress the strictness of Islámite principles.

Mention has been made of this Minister's reforms. Unremitting in diligence, he sate daily in his office, where his clerks and secretaries opened his letters and submitted them for orders. He made arrangements for redressing the grievances of the *mansabdárs*, who had suffered during the late reign from commissariat charges unduly thrown upon them. The coinage received attention. An attempted rebellion in Rájpután was suppressed by a demonstration of force ; an official hierarchy was established in the Rájput towns, and the chief Rájas were required to reside at Court, where they were duly ranked and honoured.

Kámbaksh, the younger brother of the Emperor, was appointed Viceroy of Bijápur and Haidarábád in the Deccan ; the blind old Turkmán, Firoz Jang, being Governor of the province of Ahmadábád, which joined it at the north-west. The Prince had talents, but was flighty to a degree that led people to doubt his sanity. Some injudicious flatterers having told him that his son would some day become Emperor, the Prince twisted the compliment into a ground of jealousy, and kept the unfortunate lad in confinement "worse than death," as Irádat says. He also ill-used the ladies of his family, whom he tortured and—in some cases—killed. This cruel madman had held aloof from the attempt of his brother 'Azam, but his insolence and general misconduct at length provoked the patient Emperor so much that, in the second year of his reign, having vainly tried the effect of written remonstrance, he marched southward to

coerce him by a show of force ; enjoining strictly upon the Khánkhánán that, though on no account was the Prince to escape, he was to be taken and brought to the presence alive. But, before the main army could arrive, Zulfikár Khán, for reasons of his own, took the field against the Prince. He probably wished to remove a possible competitor from the path of the Emperor's youngest son, Jahán Sháh, who was his friend ; and perhaps thought that he saw his way to obtaining the Governorship of the Deccan—a quasi-independent command—for himself. A battle ensued near Haidarábád. It seems that the Prince had been at first supported by Firoz Jang, who deserted his cause at the last hour. On the other side, the Imperial army, accompanied by the Emperor and led by the Khánkhánán, had arrived in the neighbourhood, but did not join in—though too late to prevent—Zulfikár's attack on Kámbaksh. The deserted Prince fought with the utmost courage ; overcome by numbers, he refused to surrender, and it was found impossible to secure his person until he had received numerous arrow-wounds in his howdah, and sixty-two of his staff and personal following had fallen round his elephant. Taken to his brother's camp, the unhappy man was tended with all the resources of medical science—European surgeons being especially mentioned. The Emperor visited him in the evening, and covered his bed with his own mantle. “ I never thought,” the benevolent monarch said, “ to see my brother in this condition.” “ And I never thought,” the dying man answered sullenly, “ that one of the house of Taimur would be taken prisoner in war.” That night the proud Prince—who refused all nourishment—expired ; and his body was sent to Dehli, where he lies in the cemetery of his race, by the tomb of Humaiun.

The chief interest of this event, for modern readers, is that it laid the foundation of the still-existing Principality of the Deccan. Zulfikár Khán, it is true, received his reward in the immediate appointment to the Viceroyship of the Deccan. But, after vain attempts to divide and conquer the Mahrattas, he had ultimately to make way for Chin Kulich Khán, the son of the old Firoz ; and, the office ultimately becoming hereditary in his family, the circumstances gave rise to the power of "Nizam of the Deccan," which subsists to this day.

For the present, however, Firoz Jang was sent in honourable retirement to his former post in Gujarát, while Zulfikár was left to his own resources at Haidarábád with the aid of a Pathán deputy, named Dáud Khán, by whom he was ably represented during his numerous absences at Court.

It has been mentioned that there appeared hopes, at the beginning of the reign, that the Hindus would rally round the throne. But the half-hearted loyalty of the principal chiefs did not avail to conciliate that of the people at large, alienated by the bigotry of the late Emperor, and by the maintenance of the hated *jizia* tax. So the lessons of disaffection learned in that fatal school could not be untaught.

Among the leading Hindu chiefs of the time were Ajit Singh (the son of Jaswant of Jodhpur), whom we saw chased into his native country by Alamgir, in 1678, and Jai Sing Siwai (commonly called "Mirza Rájá") who succeeded to the State of Amber, or Jaipur, about 1693. The former remained quiet till the following reign, but the latter availed himself of the absence of the Emperor in the Deccan to return to his territories, from which he expelled the Governor whom the Emperor had placed there the year before. He soon

became distinguished for scientific attainments and local improvements.

The Hindus have in general parlance become known as "mild"; and—so far as a lack of energy and enterprise, engendered by a hot climate and a vegetable diet may go—the epithet is not undeserved. But they are suspicious, reserved, and tenacious; worshippers of jealous gods. Such a people, if once a general panic of alarm as to the good faith of their rulers arises, are liable to become truly irreconcilable. So long as the great Alamgir was seated there, resolute and strong, they were content to bide their time; but now that time was come. The Rájputs were becoming insubordinate, the Mahrattas grew bolder, the Játs were hardly withheld from indiscriminate marauding. And now a mixed Hindu population, full of the new wine of a fresh fanaticism, was arising in the Punjáb, with a future before it (had all been known) more full of menace to consolidation—India's abiding need—than Játs, Mahrattas, and Rájputs, all combined.

Zulfikár, as has been hinted, found his new post full of trouble, and administered it, usually, by deputy. He tried to conciliate the Mahrattas, advancing to great honour a chief of that nation who had co-operated with him against the late Prince Kámbaksh. Soon after a quarrel arose between his *protege* and other chiefs, about the commission allowed for collecting the land-revenues of the province. Zulfikár wished to distribute this on one principle, Muna'im, the Khánkhánán, on another. The good-natured Emperor was appealed to, and attempted a compromise by which neither party was satisfied. The Mahratta chiefs profited by the dissensions of the Mughol authorities to plunder the Deccan, right and left, on their own account. Mean-

time, the griefs of the Rájputs were unappeased. But all the attention of the Government was at this juncture (1709-10) called away to the Punjáb by the new-born turbulence of the Sikhs.

This word was applied to a class of eclectic sectaries, originally a mixture of Játs and Khatris (or Northern Rájputs), who associated together in a manner somewhat similar to that affected by the Satnámis of Rewári in the early part of the last reign.* About the time of the campaign of Bahádur Sháh in the Deccan their views had taken a more worldly turn. The last of their purely spiritual teachers had been succeeded by one of a more secular and martial turn. This man—named Gobind—accompanied the Emperor's march, and had been assassinated by a Pathán as he was in the act of preaching against Islám. One Banda, an obscure disciple, came forward in the Punjáb, alleging himself to be a re-appearance of the murdered teacher; he pretended to work miracles, and assumed the title of *Sacha Pádsha*, or "King of Truth." Turning away the attention of his followers from the religious reform in which they had been hitherto engaged, he incited them to plunder, raised a force of eighteen thousand men among the hardy peasantry of the country, and encountered successfully more than one of the Imperial officers. In one of these engagements no less a person than the *Faujdar* (District Officer) of Sirhind was worsted and slain, the town being sacked and laid waste with gratuitous atrocity, and the district parcelled out under a mimic administration. The mob then passed over the Jumna, and fell on the district of Saháranpur. The

* For a summary of the latest studies concerning the origin of the Sikhs see *Religious Thought and Life in India* (Part I.), by Professor Monier Williams, C.I.E., pp. 161 ff.

officer in charge lost heart, and fled to Dehli; but the Musulmán citizens of Saháranpur entrenched themselves, and fought hard in defence of their property and families. They were overpowered and put to the sword; the *Jacquerie*, passing on towards what is now the District of Muzafarnagar, met their first check from the Patháns of Jalálábád. Driven across the Jumna with heavy loss, they fell back on the Jalandar Duáb. By this time their forces had swollen to over seventy thousand men—irregularly armed and organized, no doubt, but formidable to a Government harassed in a variety of directions. But Shams Khán, the Commissioner of Jalandar, was a man of judgment and resolution. Collecting the neighbouring gentry, he met the Sikhs at Rahun. After receiving their first fire he charged them with his whole line. The Sikhs wavered, broke, and fled for refuge into the neighbouring fort, where they were at once attacked. They stood a short siege, but after a few days stole out by night; Shams Khán followed the main body, but a fresh party seized the fort behind his back. Lahore was next insulted; the whole Punjáb was given over to rapine and disorder for eight or nine months; and numbers of low-caste Hindus affiliated themselves to the society, which assumed unshorn locks and beards as its distinguishing feature. As Kháfi Khán shrewdly observes, the outcasts found their own advantage in professing to be converted and in obeying the commands of the successful banditti; and it was among them that the most truculent exponents of the gospel of blood and plunder were found.

All this time the Emperor had been personally engaged in endeavouring to pacify the chiefs of Rájpután, where the Hindu movement had not become democratic

or lawless, as in the Punjáb. He now adopted the only expedient at his command for extricating the troops for service elsewhere. Sending one of his sons to the Rájás of Amber and Jodhpur, he summoned those chiefs to his presence and quieted them for the moment by the simple measure of concession to all their demands. What these were on that exact occasion is not recorded ; but we know what the general grievances of the Rájputs were : 1st, the imposition of the *jizra*, or distinctive tax on Hindus ; 2nd, the slaughter of bovine cattle for food ; and 3rd, the taking of Hindu ladies of princely families to be wives to the members of the Imperial House. Such were the points of the Hindu charter, granted or revoked, during the period of the Empire, as circumstances allowed or required. The two Rájás, apparently mistrustful of the charter, on leaving the Imperial camp, proceeded to Udaipur, where, in concert with the Rána of Mewar, they concluded a triple alliance which, in the words of Tod, "laid prostrate the throne of Bábar, but ultimately introduced the Mahrattas as partizans in their family disputes, who made the bone of contention their own."

For the present, however, the attention of the Government was set free for the purpose of suppressing the Sikhs, who were attacked with all the available resources of the State. The rebellion had by this time made serious progress, and the van-guard of the Imperial forces fought a doubtful engagement with the insurgents at Sháh-dara, the great hunting-ground of the Emperors, just outside the capital, on the 5th December 1709. The Khánkhánán was then hurried up with reinforcements, by whose aid the Sikhs were slowly beaten back on what was, and is still, the sub-Himalayan principality of Náhan. A strong party, under the immediate com-

mand of Banda, took refuge in the fort of Lohgarh. The Emperor, hoping that the Guru would surrender, forbade an assault, which he feared would be attended with much slaughter. But the Khánkhánán preferred to act upon his own judgment; thinking that it was all-important to capture the Guru, by doing which the rebellion might be crushed at a blow. He stormed the fort by night, but met with a signal disappointment. Changing raiment with a devoted follower, Banda escaped by a postern in the confusion of the hour. Soon after dawn the last defence was carried; the false Guru was captured; but when he was brought before the General the truth soon became apparent. The rebel leader had escaped into the Sirmur hills, whither a force was at once despatched in pursuit. The local chief, indeed, was captured; and with this imperfect success the Khánkhánán returned to Dehli, which he entered with drums beating and colours flying. The mild Emperor's anger was thoroughly aroused. He sent out orders to have the noisy demonstration arrested, and to forbid the baffled general from entering the presence. This is the last that we hear of Muna'im Khán, to whom the Emperor had been so much indebted, but who had justly forfeited his favour by a direct act of military insubordination which could only have been justified by the most signal and unqualified success. The Khánkhánán sickened and died about the beginning of the year 1711.

Deprived of its experienced steersman, the vessel hastened to distress. The Prince 'Azim-us-Shán, who had been his patron, wished that one of the fallen Minister's sons should succeed to the chief command of the forces, and the other to the government of the Deccan; Zulfikár Khán—who had failed in that post—

being transferred to Muna'im's civil functions as Vazir. But the government of the Deccan was becoming independent, and Zulfikár would not give it up, though he remained at Dehli and attached himself to 'Azim-us-Shán.

Accordingly, no Vazir was appointed, the Prince himself controlling the administration. Great jealousy arose in the minds of his brothers, though for the moment no actual quarrel broke out.

The Emperor was sinking, under the weight of years and a long life of labour. As his strength failed, the customary intrigues began. The two elder sons, 'Azim-us-Shán and Jahándár, were sitting by his bed-side one day, when the latter—esteemed at the time a warlike prince—took up his father's dagger, and, while playing with it, drew it out of the sheath. 'Azim-us-Shán was alarmed, and, in his anxiety to avoid an attack that the other had not thought of, sprang out of the room, struck his head against the lintel of the door, dropped his turban, forgot his slippers, which lay outside, and finally fell upon his face barefooted. His attendants raised him and conducted him to his quarters.

Zulfikár, hearing what had happened, wrote to the Prince, condoling and offering his services. The Prince returned a curt and haughty answer, scribbled on a scrap of paper. Irádat, who was with the Minister, says that he complained with tears in his eyes. He (Irádat) augured ill for the future.

Amid such sinister omens the demise of the Crown occurred. The mild and munificent Emperor died at Lahore on the 28th February 1712. Tod supposes poison. His short reign had not been unprosperous; but his liberality had exhausted the Exchequer, while

his obliging, modest, and indulgent demeanour had lowered the prestige of the Throne.

The contemporary account of the confusion that marked the Emperor's death may help to show the disorganized state into which the country was already beginning to fall: "Loud cries arose on every side. The *amirs* and officials stole off in the dusk, to join the respective princes. Many persons were filled with alarm, and went into the city to their families. The streets were so crowded that it was impossible to pass, and house-room could not be found for the accommodation of all. Several persons were to be seen all taking refuge in one shop. Friends and relations were unable to meet the calls made upon their hospitality. Great disturbance arose in the armies of the princes, and none of the *grandees* hoped to escape with their lives. The soldiers loudly demanded their arrears, and, joining the private servants, began to use violent language and to plunder. Fathers could not help their sons, nor sons their fathers; everyone had enough to do in taking care of himself: the scene was like the Day of Judgment."

All this bewilderment was caused by the incapacity of the Chaghatais for progressive administration. There was no fixed law of succession when they lived in the wilds of Karákoram—where it was needful that the tribesmen should have the most competent leader. After forming a settled system they were unable to adapt themselves to changed conditions. Some advantage on the other side accrued in the long persistence of great qualities in the successive rulers; but the community at large suffered more than they gained.

It remains to be noticed that, simultaneously with the growing disorganization of the central power, the birth of all the States that have since existed in Hin-

dustán and the Deccan—excepting the old Rájput principalities—was now at hand. The Sikhs in the Punjáb, the Játs at Bhurtpore, the Mahrattas at Poona, Indore, and Nagpore, all became more or less independent, as also did the Viceroy of Haidarábád. On the sea-coasts, also, of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, was quietly growing a little embryo that was to rule all.

CHAPTER III.

JAHÁNDÁR; FAROKH SIYAR; THE SAIYIDS. A.D. 1712-19.

THE reign of Bahádur Sháh may appear to take up more space than is its due in these pages. But it is important as the last and not leást worthy actuality of a great dynasty. From the accession of Akbar to the death of Bahádur was about as long as from the accession of Vespasian to the death of Severus. But the advantage of the comparison is entirely in favour of the Asiatic as against the European Empire. For while the one produced no Akbar the other was free from the ignominy of a Domitian or a Commodus. Jahángir and Alamgir were, it is true, tyrannical; but, with all his faults, Jahángir was human; and Alamgir was still better than merely human, for he was conscientious. The reigns were long—only five Emperors in nearly one hundred and fifty years—and they were all those of energetic, able, and (on the whole) merciful rulers. It is probable that all history might be exhaustively searched without discovering any similar record of uninterrupted excellence in despotic rulers. The causes of this continued personal superiority are twofold. One is the “exogamy” of the race, every Emperor being the son of a woman entirely alien in blood to her husband. The other is the fact that—with the single exception of

Jahángir, the worst and weakest on the list—each won the throne after a hard struggle, and by the survival of the fittest. The throne, no doubt, was fought for at other subsequent successions; but the fight was waged by political intriguers in support of some helpless puppet, more resembling the “Winter King” of 1627–28 than the ordinary antagonists of those valiant days. Of these it may be said that Bahádur Sháh and his two brothers were genuine examples; men who conceived their own designs and put them into execution in their own persons and their own way; intrepid leaders of armies and real kings of men.

Once more there were princely competitors for the vacant throne. It was at first assumed by 'Azim-us-Shán; and an abortive attempt was made by one of his backers to seize the person of the Paymaster-General, Zulfikár Khán, while he was engaged in the ceremonies of the late Emperor's funeral. Being already Grand-master of the Palace and in possession of the papers and privy purse, 'Azim was undoubtedly the man in possession. But Zulfikár was opposed to him, and persuaded the three others to combine, proposing a partition by which one was to take the Deccan, another Kashmir and Sindh; and this plan, if sincere, had a certain air of statesmanship. But the partition never took effect, and was not, perhaps, ever intended to do so. 'Azim was irresolute, and his irresolution led to his being deserted by his men, routed, and—it is believed—lost in crossing a river. Khujista Akhtar was then attacked and killed by Zulfikár, acting on behalf of Jahándár Sháh, in the same neighbourhood. Jahándár, who was a mere voluptuary, lost his head, and hid in the litter of his mistress; but his rival was killed by a chance (or treacherous) shot just as the soldiery were in the act of

celebrating his victory. The effeminate Jahándár then emerged from his ignoble concealment, and, by the help of Zulfikár, got his remaining brother surprised and slain ; somewhat to his own surprise becoming Emperor of Hindustán.

His true character at once appeared. Abandoning all dignity, duty, and even decency, he gave himself over to the society and influence of a dancing-girl named Lál Kunwar, whose friends he advanced to offices of State. He passed his time in roaming the streets and drinking in taverns. Zulfikár, who still held the post of Amir-ul-Umra and Paymaster-General in addition to the titular governorship of the Deccan, bluntly satirised these proceedings to the besotted man's face. But he, himself, though in less indecorous style, was no better as an administrator, being corrupt and grasping to an intolerable degree. Dáud Khán, his deputy, though an intrepid soldier, made havoc of the Deccan, combining the avarice of the Minister with the debauched habits of the master. "Night and day," writes Kháfi Khán, "were devoted to the lusts of the vile world." "Mussalmáns and Hindus," adds Irádat, "united in prayers for the downfall of the Government."

The minions of the Emperor now began to poison his mind with suspicions of the Minister, who on his side instituted measures for their removal. The two brothers already named as heads of the Bárha Saiyads, Abdullah and Husain Ali, were governors, the one of Bahár, the other of Allahábád. They resolved on raising the late 'Azim-us-Shán's son, Farokh Siyar, who was living in disgrace at Patna, as a competitor for the throne. Prompted by Zulfikár, to whom he resorted for counsel in his trouble, the Emperor moved down from Lahore to Dehli ; but on arriving there he plunged anew into the

pleasures of a capital city. The minions renewed their intrigues; Zulfikár, they said, was in secret understanding with the insurgents; if His Majesty moved out with the army it would only be to become a prisoner in the hands of the "King-maker," as men called the Minister. The latter, disgusted at the distrust in which these intrigues involved him, neglected all his duties.

In the midst of this scene of confusion and imbecility the Saiyads and their *protégé* advanced from Allahábád. The Emperor sent his son to check them, followed by Chin Kulich Khán, who, however, went no farther than Agra. Zulfikár ultimately persuaded the Emperor to take the field, and they moved rapidly down with the main army, letting the Prince go on as an advanced guard. The Prince and his Atálik fled at the first sight of the enemy's advancing standards. He fell back on Agra, where Chin Kulich persuaded him to remain. But when Zulfikár Khán arrived with the main army his veteran spirit rose to a somewhat higher flight. Advancing to Samoghar he made a night-attack, desirous of crushing the enemy as they were crossing the Jumna at Gaoghát. Either, however, from intrinsic inferiority, or from treachery on the part of Chin Kulich and other officers, he was unable to carry out his plans. The enemy, marching up to a ford near Sikandra, forced the passage of the river; but were encountered not unsuccessfully for some hours. In the afternoon the craven Emperor mounted his mistress's elephant and fled from the scene. In vain the valiant Zulfikár maintained the fight till night; then, perceiving that he was deserted and overwhelmed, he reluctantly retired and followed his pusillanimous sovereign—though in better order—on the road to Dehli. On reaching the capital, Emperor and Minister alike sought refuge in the house

of the father of the latter. But all men had grown weary of Jahándár and his associations. He was accordingly removed to the Salimgarh, an out-work of the fortified palace of the Mughols; Zulfikár attempted remonstrance, but his father pointed out that the case was hopeless. On the 9th January (O.S.) 1718, Farokh Siyar entered Dehli, and a reign of terror commenced. The wretched Jahándár was ultimately slaughtered in his prison, and his body, after being publicly exhibited, was sent to the necropolis of the family, round Humáyun's tomb. The same day witnessed another deed of violence. The Saiyids had become to appearance all-powerful. But one Abdulla, a favourite of the new Emperor's, whom he had ennobled by the title of Mir Jumla, at once began an adverse influence. It seems that, this man being suspected of intending to set up Zulfikár and his party against their interest, the king-making brothers resolved to guard against any such danger. Accordingly, when the two fallen Ministers came with much anxiety to pay their respects, the father was arrested and the son strangled. Zulfikár's body was tied to the tail of an elephant, on whose back was thrown the corpse of the ex-Emperor, previously to sepulture, as above stated. Zulfikár's treasurer, Rájá Sabha Chand, had his tongue cut out; others of the late Emperor's party were executed; a number of princes of the blood were blinded, among them Farokh Siyar's own brother. Of the Saiyid brothers, Abdulla Khán was appointed Prime Minister, with the title of Kutb-ul-Mulk, and Husain Ali succeeded to the post of Amir-ul-Umra and Paymaster-General. The use of the bow-string—now mentioned for the first time in Indian history—became general, and imitations of its use were represented by comedians. Mir Jumla alone, by his

integrity and ability, seemed to make head against the Saiyids. The new sovereign was weak, timid, young and inexperienced. As such he was prone to comply with anyone who had the last word with him. Mir Jumla was intimate with him in private, and thus enabled to counteract the Ministers, who worked outside. He succeeded in parting them, sending Husain to conduct a campaign against the Rájputs, while Abdulla, though in the metropolis, was excluded from the secret council of the Emperor. Nominally, however, he and his brother retained the highest offices of State, military and civil; some of the Turkmán nobles holding subordinate posts. The favourite was satisfied with the substance of power, which he showed by thus parting the brothers.

Tod is reticent as to this Rájput campaign, but says that it originated in the expulsion of the Mughol officers from Márwar by the Rája of Jodhpur, Ajit Singh, and that it was terminated by a compromise between him and the Saiyid general. According to Kháfi—who gives the Mughol side of the story—Ajit Singh, in spite of the triple alliance of 1709, was left to bear the brunt of the storm alone. Sending his family and his property to a place of refuge in the hills, he opened negotiations. There is, therefore, this much of truth in Tod's Rájput version, that Ajit Singh was unprepared for resistance. He must, however, have been hard pressed and seriously alarmed, and his submission was that of an intimidated enemy rather than that of a collusive partisan. However willing the Saiyids may have been to terminate the campaign, the Rája made a complete capitulation, including a condition directly opposed to the principles of the Rájput confederation. He consented to send his daughter to Dehli to become the bride of the Emperor.

It was evident that the favourite—whatever may have been his merits—was occupying a position which no Constitution, however arbitrary, could long allow. Saiyid Abdulla, being nominally Vazir, attempted to carry on the administration through the instrumentality of his secretary, Rāja Ratan Chand. On the other hand, the Emperor entrusted his authority to Mir Jumla, openly declaring that the favourite's signature was tantamount to the sign manual. Such a state of things could not continue. Towards the end of the year 1713 the Saiyids proposed that the government of the Deccan should be conferred upon Husain, who was to remain at Court enjoying the honour and emolument of Viceroy, while Dáüd—formerly deputy for Zulfikár—continued to do the work. Mir Jumla agreed to the appointment, but made the Emperor stipulate that Husain Ali should go to the Deccan and carry on the government in person; and Husain consented on condition that Mir Jumla in like manner proceeded as Viceroy to Bahár. The arrangement was concluded, Husain proceeding to the Deccan with a parting assurance that, if Mir Jumla should be recalled, or his brother in any way disturbed in the execution of his office, His Majesty might expect to see him back at Court within three weeks.

Dáüd Khán—as the Court party knew full well—was not the man to give up the reality of power that he had so long enjoyed. His convivial habits have been alluded to already. From the records of the English at Madras we learn that he used to visit Mr. Pitt, the Governor, and carouse there to the sound of a royal salute. On hearing of the approach of his new superior he advanced to Burhánpur to resist him. A serious action ensued, in which the gallant old wine-bibber was prevailing, when he ~~was~~ killed by a random shot. When

the Emperor heard the news he expressed in open durbar his regret for the loss of so renowned a warrior. "Ah, Sir!" cried the Vazir, "had it been my brother that was killed, your Majesty would have felt far otherwise." This event occurred early in 1715.

In the same year the English settlers appeared for the first time on the stage of Dehli politics, though only in the character of suppliants. Bengal was at that time under a nobleman named Jáfar, whose title was Murshid Kuli Khán, the son of a Hindu convert, who had held the post ever since 1704, and was the founder of the dynasty still known to us as that of the "Nawáb Názim." His character was harsh, and his administration oppressive. The English sought for permission to appear at the foot of the throne with presents and a petition of appeal. Their prayer being graciously received, a mission was despatched, consisting of two civil officers and a surgeon named Hamilton. They arrived on the 8th July 1715, and were kindly received by the Emperor, in whose house hospitality to strangers was hereditary. But the Vazir—probably in correspondence with the Nawáb—thwarted the negotiations as long as he could.

The Emperor was afflicted with a disorder—a tumour in the back, according to Tod—which hindered the consummation of his marriage with the Princess of Jodhpur. Hamilton operated successfully, and, on being asked to name his fee, with memorable patriotism begged for a favourable answer to the memorial of his mission. The Emperor assented; and, after much delay, a patent was issued, which conferred upon the nascent presidency of Calcutta the right of passing their commerce free of duty, and the possession of townships for ten miles on either bank of the ~~English~~ Ghagghri river. Even

then Court intrigues delayed the ratification of this grant.

Meanwhile, the Sikhs had broken out again. The Emperor moved towards the Punjáb with an unwieldy host, and the English envoys, whose *firmán* had not received the sign manual, judged it best to accompany the camp. No less than two years of time, and large sums of money, were spent in vain solicitations. At length the proceedings were stimulated by the appearance of a British fleet off the coast of Gujarát. The patent was signed in 1717, and the envoys returned to Calcutta. But, in spite of the completion of all due formalities, the Nawáb had influence enough to prevent their obtaining the land. From this specimen one may form some idea of the decrepit condition of the administration of the moribund Empire.

By the time of which we are now taking note the Sikhs had greatly increased in numbers and audacity. They had emerged from the hills, and laid waste the Punjab from Ambála to Lahore, in spite of the efforts of the Governor, Abd-us-Samad Khán, and his forces, whom they at one time drove into a defensive position, though nominally their besiegers. Entrenched and provided with heavy guns, the Mughols were at last able to create a strict blockade; and the Sikhs, under pressure of hunger, finally surrendered at discretion. Two thousand of them were put to the sword, the rest (among whom was the Guru, Banda) were sent as prisoners to Dehli, whither the Emperor had by this time returned. The Guru was paraded through the city on an elephant, dressed in royal robes, but with an executioner standing over him, sword in hand; while his followers brought up the rear clad in sheep-skins with the black wool outside, in ridicule of the unshorn

appearance which they affected. The Sikhs bore the insults of the populace with great firmness, and steadily refused the Emperor's offers of life accompanied with the dishonouring condition of becoming Muslims. For seven days they were massacred wholesale, the Gurū being reserved for the last, the eighth, day. Then he was brought out; a dagger was put into his hands, and he was required to slay his infant son. On his refusing, the executioner stabbed the child, tore out his heart, and thrust it into the father's mouth. Banda was then put to death by the slowest torture, which he endured with the utmost firmness. Kháfí Khán relates, as an instance of this man's cool courage, that when, in his last hour, he was asked by 'Amin Khán, a Mughol noble, whether he felt no remorse for the cruel and detestable conduct he had long practised, he replied as follows: "Whatever faith men profess, the Great Avenger exacts retribution for their unrepented sin. A man like me is then sent to be their scourge; and when he, in his turn, is to be scourged, one like you is sent to prevail over him. You see the work of God."

In 1716* Mir Jumla, having failed in his administration of Bahár, repaired to Court without leave, alarming the Emperor who was now quite in the hands of the Vazir Abdulla, and who had not forgotten the warning of the Vazir's brother when departing for the Deccan. Mir Jumla was severely censured for his maladministration and desertion of his post. A portion of the troops who had been disbanded after the conquest of the Sikhs, fell into mutinous courses, and with arms in their hands clamoured for their pay. The Vazir, on his side, prepared to attack them. In his perplexity

* All these events are antedated a year in Dowson's translation.

the Emperor ordered Mir Jumla to take up the government of the Punjáb (which was his native province) sending another governor to Bahár, and placing Chin Kulich—who had been rewarded with the title of Nizám-ul-Mulk,—in charge of Rohilkhand. About this time died Asad Khán, father of the late Zulfikár. A member of Nur Jahán's family, he had been in the public service ever since about the twentieth year of Sháh Jahán, and had held, under the Emperor Bahádur, the highest dignity of the State, that of *Vakil Mutlak* or "Plenipotentiary." On his death-bed he sent excellent advice to Farokh Siyar. "When my family fell into disgrace," said the old man, "I knew that ruin threatened the house of Tainur. Nevertheless, having cast in your lot with the Saiyids, your only hope of safety now is to be loyal and kind with them, *so far as you can.*"

These last words were ominous. It was impossible for the Emperor to be loyal, it was growing more and more difficult to be kind. He was sunk in the pleasures of private life, hunting and the company of ladies. His temper failed under the combined action of dissipation and anxiety, sometimes he and the Vazir would not meet for months. The *jizia*—which had fallen into abeyance—was once more levied with rigour, and the Hindu nobles were called on for accounts and threatened with the confiscation of their fiefs. And all these irritating measures were initiated by the Muhamadan party, in spite of the fact that the financial affairs of the State had fallen into the hands of Ratan Chand and other Hindu officials, who were at the same time becoming hostile and indispensable.

In the year 1718 war broke out between the Governor of the Deccan and a Mahratta chief named Khánde Rao (called by Elphinstone, after Grant Duff, Dábári).

The rebel, being supported by Sáhu the head of the Mahrattas, baffled the efforts of the Viceroy, secretly encouraged by the Court of Dehli. But, in the following year, the Viceroy opened negotiations with Sáhu, and conceded all his terms. The upshot was that the Mahrattas were to receive 25 per cent of the land-revenue, plus 10 per cent. as collection-fees. These per-centages they were to realise through their own agents. The result, as Kháfi naïvely says, was "hard upon the people." They were subjected to the exactions of two sets of tax-gatherers, who "exacted twice or thrice more than had been done by the most oppressive of the former district officers." Besides these regular exactions, a toll was levied from every cart and caravan of trade.

The Court refused to ratify the disgraceful treaty into which the Viceroy had been forced, mainly by the Court's own misconduct. The Emperor at the same time attempted to throw himself upon the Rájputs; but irresolution on his side combined with ill-feeling and mistrust on the other. The Vazir raised troops on his own account and sent for his brother, the Viceroy, from the Deccan. At the same time he amused the Emperor and his friends by a pretended reconciliation.

The Viceroy, Husain Ali, advanced upon Dehli with his own army, and—omen of evil to come—with a strong force of Mahratta auxiliaries under Khánde, his late antagonist. On the way he was joined by various discontented Mughol nobles, among them Chin Kulich, who had been displaced from Rohilkhand.

At the beginning of 1719 the confederates arrived at their last halting-place, the old city of Firoz, a couple of miles south of the capital. On his side the Emperor had taken a wise step in calling in the aid of Jai Singh

Siwai, the learned and prudent Rájá of Amber. But he clung with fatal fatuity to the secret counsels of a low Kashmirian *protégé* of his mother's, on whom he had bestowed the title of Rukn-ud-Daula, and on whom he had conferred the government of Rohilkhand in the room of Chin Kulich Khán. And now the drums were heard which the confederates were contumaciously sounding on the plain of Firozábad; and it was evident to those around the Emperor that the critical hour had come. Jai Singh counselled prompt and vigorous action. But "the Emperor's head was muffled," says the chronicler; and on his declining the spirited proposal many of the leading courtiers (among whom was Rána Ajit Singh, the Emperor's father-in-law), having no further hope from such a sovereign, left the city and repaired to the rebel camp to make terms for themselves. Within the palace all was confusion. The Vazir, in open durbar, stormily stated his grievances and demanded three concessions. First, the dismissal of Rájá Jai Singh; second, the nomination of his brother's followers to all situations of trust; lastly, the surrender of the palace and its approaches into his own hands. The helpless Emperor had no choice but to submit; his enemies took possession and substituted their sentries at all the surrounding posts; the Emperor, after some vain reproaches, retired into his private apartments. That night the peace of the city was maintained by strong patrols; next morning (18th February 1719) disturbance began, under the feverish and ill-sustained efforts of the Kashmirian favourite, but apparently with considerable sympathy among the citizens of Dehli, among whom the Emperor was popular. Several of the Turkish nobles also tried to strike for the defence of their Emperor.

Some of the courtiers and their men appeared armed in the streets ; the Mahrattas who had been admitted over-night were driven out of the city gates, one of their leaders being killed with fifteen hundred of his people. Barricades were being begun, and it seemed as if the prestige of the Mughol throne was about to inspire the citizens to an effort of some importance. Suddenly a herald issuing from the palace announced a new reign, and the music of a *levée* sounded from the Naubat-Khána. An amnesty was at the time proclaimed ; but the citizens opened communications with Farokh Siyar, who was still surrounded by a Tartar guard, while his chamber was watched by his negroes and a body of armed women always maintained for this special duty.

But even in so critical a moment no resolution could be mustered in that emasculated breast. Hidden in the *zanána*, Farokh Siyar made no sign. The resistance of the guards was overpowered, and the Emperor was dragged from his concealment and flung into a solitary cell, while Rafi-ud-Darját (son of the late Prince Rafi-us-Shán) was placed upon the throne. He was a weak stripling of twenty, unused to the world, and dazed by the tumult, who seated himself without form in the clothes that he had put on when he got out of bed. Rukn-ud-Daula was sent into confinement, and his house stripped of his ill-gotten gains. The *jizia* was formally revoked ; Amir Khán was made Paymaster-General, and Chin Kulich was appointed Governor of Bahár.

Meanwhile the unhappy Farokh Siyar was kept a close prisoner in the very room in which the last Emperor, Jahándár, had been put to death by his orders. Here, "as in a living tomb," he lay for two or three months, until he attempted to corrupt the captain of his guard and escape to Jai Singh. The Saiyids

then resolved on his death. Poison was twice introduced into his food, but failed to produce fatal effects. Sick and weary, he taunted his persecutors who had come to see him; and “uttered words which ought never to have been spoken.” On hearing the blasphemy the all-powerful brothers ordered that he should be strangled. The bow-string was thrown round his neck, he tore at it with desperate hands, which the executioners beat with sticks; the dagger is said to have closed the existence of this degenerate descendant of so many mighty monarchs. The date of his death was 16th May; and his body was interred in the family cemetery, amid the lamentations of a crowd of the poorer inhabitants, who threw stones at the officers and refused to receive the alms that were distributed on the occasion.

After a titular reign of a few months his nephew and successor died of a decline. Another of the family was crowned in his room, and he, too, passed away in the course of the same year.

The brief reigns of these two youths are chiefly remarkable for the quarrels of the Saiyid brothers, and the increasing contumacy of the various classes of the Hindus. Abdulla, the civilian brother, abandoned himself to plunder and lust; Husain, the soldier—a brave and honest man—showed his disgust, and formed a separate party. Jai Singh threatened Agra, where a Pretender appeared, assuming the title of Neku Siyar, son of the late Sultán Akbar, who had died in Persia nearly twelve years before. He was utterly routed, and taken prisoner. Ajit Singh forcibly removed his daughter, the widow of Farokh Siyar, from Court. Instead of being punished, both the Rájas were rewarded, Jai Singh becoming Governor of Gujarát, Ajit Singh of

Ajmer and Khándes; all the western part of the Empire, from the sea to within fifty miles of the capital, being thus under Hindu sway, with the exception of Málwa, of which Kulich Khán was appointed Governor. The Ját country, up to the walls of Agra, was ruled by Churáman, Rájá of that tribe, hitherto only known as marauders. The Mahratta chief, Sáhu, became independent in the country between Kolhapur and the boundary of the British settlement at Bombay.

So much has been said in this chapter about the making and unmaking of puppet-kings that it may be as well to refer to Dow's description of the ceremonies observed at the accession of a Mughol Emperor of Hindustan. The nobles, being gathered together, made a lane up to the Peacock Throne, ranged on either hand. In front a herald proclaimed the name and titles of the new sovereign, who sat cross-legged upon the throne—a kind of glorified bedstead—with an umbrella held above his head. Each lord, in his degree, came forward and presented his offering. The chief officer of the kitchen then brought in confectionery on a golden salver, which was placed before the Emperor. Having consecrated the food in a form of set words, he ate a little, and distributed the remainder among the grandees, this being an ancient Tartar sacrament most scrupulously preserved. The Emperor next ascended his State elephant and proceeded, with a long train of followers, to the great mosque, scattering coin and jewels to the people as he passed along. After the Emperor had prayed, the public litany was recited by the Primate, with proclamation of the Emperor's genealogy and prayers for his person. No crown was placed upon his head; and the whole ceremonial was evidently a survival of the succession of a Tartar leader transfused with the observances of Islám.

It is easy to perceive the causes of the rapid degeneracy of the descendants of Akbar. Born of ignorant secluded princesses, reared in the seraglio, without any preparation for an office of which they had little or no prospect, the youths had no conception of duty, or of true dignity. Suddenly raised to the throne, they regarded their elevation as a personal gift of fortune, to be used for their own pleasures and wasted in indolent enjoyments.

Of the state of the country and the life of its people during these troubled times we know but little from actual evidence. That some administration must have continued is probable in itself, and may be inferred from the maintenance of vast armies, which must sometimes have been paid, for which purpose revenue must have continued to be collected. But the areas of administration were probably small, and the process of disintegration had attacked all parts of the Empire. The district officers probably acted very much according to their own respective characters and habits, while their Názims, or divisional chiefs, tended more and more to assume the position of petty princes. Over these, again, were viceroys, each of whom made it his object to get as many provinces into his charge as possible, and to assume the functions of sovereignty. Among all these egoistic struggles the people were left to protect themselves as best they might ; and the foundation was being thus laid of the great anarchy which preceded the British conquest, and to the effects and nature of which further reference will be found in a later chapter of this history.

The author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutákhharin* gives some anecdotes of Sáýid Husain Ali's last march from the Deccan, which show how helpless the people had become, and how dependent for everything upon the individual

natures of the men in power. The traces of this are still noticeable in the manners of the Hindustánis ; and the dependence—real or imaginary—on the personal qualities of officials is answerable for the corruption often imputed to those of them who are Asiatics, and the haughty bearing often with too much justice attributed to many among the British.

Husain Ali—to his credit be it recorded—was, on the whole, a strict disciplinarian, who took commendable and extraordinary pains to prevent his men from injuring the villagers on his line of march. Only in one instance is a departure from this system recorded. The Rájá of Amber—or Jaipur, as this State was beginning to be called—was the well-known mathematical student Jai Singh Siwai, who had joined the cause of the weak and ill-fated Farokh Siyar, and gone to his assistance at Dehli. In revenge for this, Husain Ali caused his country to be utterly laid waste as his army marched through. In vain did the resident Minister of the Rájá humble himself before the Viceroy with a large pecuniary tribute. His offering was spurned, and the troops were let loose upon the land. The crops were destroyed, the younger Hindus of both sexes being carried off as captives and slaves, and the old people left to starve.

This, it may be said, was no worse than had been done by Generals in Europe ; the fact may be admitted for whatever it is worth, and the general character given to both the Sáyids—not only in the *Siyar*, but also by Kháfi, who was not of their clan, sect, or party—is exceptionally high. As some palliation for their cruelty to the miserable Emperor, it should be remembered that he had been notoriously plotting against them ; that he had evidently a party, alike among the nobles and among the citizens of Dehli ; that his personal charac-

ter was, really, unspeakably contemptible ; and that the last indignity appears to have been provoked by the ex-Emperor's attempt to escape to Jai Singh, of which—had it succeeded—the end must have been civil war on an enormous scale.

But, whatever be the excuses, the violence used was up to that time unprecedented, and such as to cause a great shock to the public conscience—ultimately to become but too familiar with such scenes of crime.

CHAPTER IV.

MUHAMAD SHÁH. A.D. 1719-1748.

THE few years since the death of Bahádur had been unhappy and inglorious indeed. Four Sultáns had risen to the throne and passed away, images of a greatness that had departed, screens of a Government that made little attempt to govern, and was only earnest in intrigue and plunder. The long reign now before us was eventful, and marked by an early and successful attempt on the part of the Sovereign to emancipate himself from "Mayors of the Palace." But it was also tarnished by a calamity which shook the social fabric and ushered in the most utter anarchy that ever afflicted any community with any pretence to civilisation.

The new Emperor was the son of the Prince mentioned in the last chapter as Khujista Akhtar; and his mother—called Miriam Makáni by the chroniclers—was a princess of unusual spirit and sagacity. At first she persuaded her son to acquiesce in the proceedings of the ambitious brothers to whom he was indebted for his elevation; but it was not long before she found herself able to call in the aid of rival politicians and shake off their yoke. Of the personal character of the Emperor it need only here be noted that he was coeval with the century; a handsome youth, on whose training unusual

care had been bestowed, fond of hunting and of the sport now called "polo," but with a tendency to heart disease

In most States the contentions of competing groups of public men are marked by the profession of opposing principles. One party will represent order, the other progress, and so forth. But, in the condition of Hindustán which we are now considering, all politics consisted in a naked struggle for office and its concomitant privileges. The Government was that of the Saiyids, indigenous Muslims of the Shi'a sect, whose native seat was a tract called the "Bárha," on the eastern side of what is now the Muzafarnagar district. Opposed to them were the descendants of the old Turkmán, Firoz Jang, the chief of whom were his son, Kulich Khán, and his nephew, Muhamad Amin Khán. It may be convenient to recognise them (as the chroniclers sometimes do) by the names of "Irán" and "Turán."

The King-makers adopted the long-deserted palace of Fatehpur-Sikri as the residence of the Court, making Mir Jumla head of the judicial administration and entrusting the financial control to Ratan Chand, their Hindu secretary. By the instrumentality of this man, another Hindu, Girdhar by name, was made Viceroy of Audh. Kulich—who begins to be known in the chronicles by the title of Nizám, since borne by his descendants—remained for the present at Ujjain, as Governor of the province of Málwa, receiving secret letters from the Empress mother and quietly collecting soldiers and materials of war. The Ministers soon became alarmed. They ordered the Nizám to appear at Court, and to resign the government of Málwa, receiving in its place one of four others of which they offered him the choice. At the same time they sent

a kinsman of their own, named Diláwar 'Ali, to occupy Burhánpur and Málwa, and see their orders carried out. Bhim Singh, Maharao of Udaipur, was attracted by the promise of being made Viceroy of Rájpután, and joined the Sáyids with other Hindus; the Nizám, on his side, losing no opportunity of making friends among the Mahrattas.

In the meanwhile the northern part of the Empire was the scene of serious disturbance. The Governor was Abd-us Samad Khán, the same whom we saw engaged against the Sikhs some four years earlier; a man of Uzbek ancestry, and an experienced soldier, of whom we shall hear again. He was now called on to take the field once more, not against the Sikhs, who were for the present quite cowed, but against the Patháns of Kasur near Lahore. In this he was successful after an obstinate fight, and received honours from the Ministers, although they were believed to have encouraged the revolt.

All this time Kulich Khán was working his way towards the Deccan. From a Hindu's letter preserved by Tod, it would appear that early in the monsoon of 1720 it was known in Rájpután—where the Ministers were endeavouring to obtain support—that the Turanian leader had left Ujjain and crossed the Narbada at the head of a strong force of cavalry. Collecting followers as he advanced, he became master of much of the country between that river and the Tápti, traversed by the Satpura range of hills. The capital of this region was Burhánpur, formerly a residence of the Mughol Emperors, and forming the gate, as it were, of the Deccan, being on the high road to Aurangábád and Ahmadnagar. Seeing the importance of this position, yet unable to take it with the force at his

disposal, the Nizám had recourse to negotiation. The commandant, faint-hearted or collusive, opened the gates, and Kulich entered the place in May, about a fortnight after he had crossed the Narbada. Here he found some of the women and children of his rival's family, whom he treated with chivalric respect, and forwarded to Dehli under a strong escort. Numbers of the Muslim gentry now joined his standard, and he began forming a park of artillery. His next acquisition was the neighbouring fort of Asir—described in the record of Akbar's reign—which was at once indispensable to the permanent possession of Burhánpur and almost impregnable to the siege resources of partisan warfare. It fell into his hands without a blow, and gave him command of the whole country of Khándes. Some Mahratta chiefs now began to join him.

The Ministers were becoming seriously embarrassed. Abdulla, the civilian brother, proposed to leave Sikri and move to Dehli with the Emperor and his mother; while Husain was to set out for the Deccan with such forces as he could collect. The brothers were, to a great extent, hoodwinked as to the connivance of the Emperor with the party of Turán. That party was represented by Amin Khán, who possessed, in the Turkish language, a medium of communication with his master which they, as Hindustánis, were unable to penetrate.

For the moment, however, they seemed favourably situated. Their active rival was almost between two fires; for while Diláwar Khán, after over-running the evacuated province of Málwa, was already across the Narbada, another of their family, 'Alim 'Ali Khán, was advancing towards the Tápti from the side of Aurangábád, at the head the local levies. Kulich lost no time in taking these foes in detail. Leaving his family

in the security of Asir, he advanced to Ratanpur, thirty miles north of Burhānpur, and encountered the army under Diláwar, who had been joined by the forces of the Rájputs, under leaders among whom Tod names the Ranas of Kota and Nirwar. Kulich prudently offered terms, which were scornfully refused. Heading the attack on his elephant, the Saiyid general was shot dead; and his disheartened troops were routed with great slaughter. The Hindu allies, fighting more stoutly, got off with a much smaller loss; but the Kota prince was slain in the *mêlée*, falling like a stout soldier as he was. The victor returned to Burhānpur, where he left a garrison and proceeded southwards to deal with the Aurangábád levies under 'Alim.

All was now confusion at Court. The councils of the brothers were violently perplexed, and not a week passed without some change of purpose and consequent removal of head-quarters. Now the Emperor was removed to Agra, now hurried back to Dehli. The combination against them was joined by Saádat 'Ali, a Persian adventurer who was in charge of the district of Biyána, and by Haidar Kuli, commandant of the artillery. A violent earthquake, which not only destroyed a quantity of private dwellings, but even overthrew some of the walls of Dehli, added to the troubles of the time, and a disturbance occurred in Kashmir—originating in religious fanaticism—which was not suppressed without much effusion of blood. In the midst of these distractions worse news than ever arrived from the south.

We have seen that the Nizám was expecting an encounter with the troops from Aurangábád. In obedience to that mixture of sagacity which, as in all successful men of his class, tempered the hue of resolution, he attempted negotiation. On the other side, 'Alim

'Alí was young and confident. In vain did his advisers represent that, if he rejected the advice of his enemy, and refused to listen to an accommodation, he should at least fall back for the time and consolidate his power, while his Mahratta allies wasted the country. The Saiyid was no more inclined to what he thought an unworthy warfare than to what might seem an ignominious peace. Descending the pass that led from Ajanta towards the head of Western Berár, he encamped on the right bank of the river Purna, a stream then so swollen by the periodical rains as to appear more like a trackless marsh than what it was in ordinary seasons, a mere affluent of the Tápti. Forging the stream thirty miles nearer to its source, Kulich drove in the Mahratta pickets, and took post in the dry land between Akola and Burhánpur. On the 1st of August the Saiyid, disdaining all his advantages, made a rash attack upon the vigilant veteran, and paid for his imprudence by defeat and death. His Muslim adherents joined the victor; the Mahrattas dispersed.

While these stirring events were occurring in the southern regions, the Empress-mother was diligently weaving her web of secret spite at Court. Among the party of Turán, whom she was constantly urging to resistance and combination, the leaders were Muhamad Amin Khán, Chin Kulich Khán's nephew (already mentioned more than once), and Haidar Kuli Beg, commandant of the artillery. Saádat 'Alí, the Persian—who never allowed anything to interfere with his own interest—joined against his fellow Shias. It was determined to remove the Minister, and an instrument was secured in the person of Mir Haidar Khán, a military adventurer of Chaghtai race.

The camp was now moving southward, and had got

about three marches beyond Sikri, where it was pitched on the 18th September 1720. The Minister was going to his tent in his palanquin, when a man was seen on an eminence, waving a paper in his hand. Motioning that he should approach, Husain 'Ali took the petition out of his hand and began to read it, when the man—it was Haidar—stabbed him dead sitting in his litter. Haidar was immediately cut down, and a violent tumult arose. Muhamad Amin, with his son Kamr-ud-din, hastened to the Emperor's tents with a handful of men, followed by Saádat. Haidar Kuli had his gunners ready, a body of men whose discipline and valour were well known, and many of whom were Europeans. On the other side, the kinsfolk and friends of the Ministers hurried up with their men and made for the Emperor's quarters. The camp-followers—duly prompted, no doubt—plundered and burned the Sáyid's camp. The new leader of the party—a nephew of the slaughtered Minister—was shot in attempting to penetrate to the Emperor's tents; on which his followers presently dispersed. On the other side arose shouts of victory and deliverance, amid which the Emperor came forth and showed himself on the elephant of Amin Khán.

The fall of the King-makers was not complete so long as the elder brother, Abdulla, was in possession of the capital, with the citadel, palace, and all that they contained. But it is evident, both from the tone of the impartial Kháfi Khán and from that of the author of the *Siyar*, who is their co-sectary and almost their partisan, that the domination of the Sáyids—or rather of Ratan Chand, their agent or secretary—had become intolerable to all Muslims. The Turanians were now in the ascendant; Amin Khán was made *Vazir*, and Abd-ul-Samad *Amir-ul-Umra*; Kamrud-din obtaining the Household,

while Haidar Kuli and Saádat Khán both received an addition to their *mansabs*. Ratan Chand was made a close prisoner.

Abdulla, on his part, threw himself into Dehli ; and, after some refusals, met with a Prince who was willing to accept the crown of thorns which was at his disposal. Attempts were made to rally the lords of the late Emperor's circle—including the infamous Rukn-ud-Daula—who had been living at Dehli in obscure poverty since their master's death. The Sáyid set off on the Agra road at the head of a large but not very coherent army, about the middle of October, accompanied by his titular Emperor. On the other hand, Muhamad Sháh was advancing with a well-organised force under experienced leaders. On the 3rd of November the two armies met, somewhere about half-way between Faridabad and Muttra. The first day's action began by the execution of Ratan Chand, the Hindu secretary. It was indecisive, and the combatants remained on the ground all night ; the leaders in their howdahs, and the men by their horses and guns. In the morning the fight was renewed ; and, after much slaughter, Abdulla and his mock-Emperor were taken captive ; the rebel army submitted ; and Muhamad marched upon Dehli, which he entered on the 10th. Thus fell the last definite scheme for nationalising the administration. It is conceivable that—with a native and intelligent rule—the position of a *fainéant* Emperor might have been long upheld, and the Empire might, perhaps, have revived in after times. But it is clear that the victory of the Turkish nobles and their complete resumption of the administration, boded no good to the system. It was a purely foreign administration, understood to be so on both sides. That was what the Turanian party had fought for ; and

in the day of their triumph they had no intention of abating any point or particle in favour of the natives.

For the next few years a Government of some sort was carried on. Amin Khán died 17th January 1721, and the Nizám was appointed Premier in his room, with the title of 'Asaf Jáh. The Persian Saádat was sent to Audh as Viceroy, where he founded the dynasty which endured till 1856. And here it is to be remarked that the Nizám and he were two able and prudent contemporaries, who—though rivals—discovered a *modus vivendi* that subsisted for nearly twenty years, and was, in fact, only terminated by Saádat's death. The consequence of such unusual self-restraint, on the part of rival politicians, was that both founded dynasties that rose on the ruins of the Empire, and, in one instance, endures to this day, as the other might have done had prudence continued to be hereditary.

Sáyid Abdulla died in obscurity just three years after his fall (19th September 1723). About the same time died Ajit Singh of Jodhpur, son of the famous Rája Jeswant—whose death has been mentioned under the year 1678. Ajit, it may be remembered, was father-in-law of Farokh Siyar, whom he abandoned in his last struggle. His death was a sad one; he was murdered by his second son, at the instigation of his eldest, and in the arms of his wife. He was a turbulent man, cherishing a rooted dislike to the Mughols, from whom he had suffered from his childhood (*vide supra*), and on whom he took many bitter reprisals. He is called in Rájput ballads "the Turks' lance"; at the time of his death he was in his forty-sixth year, and sixty-four ladies of his household are reported to have burned themselves with his dead body.

The stay at Court of the Nizám—for by that title was

Chin Kulich beginning to be known—was not of very long duration. His position there was rendered unpleasant by the flippancy of the young lordlings, who amused the Emperor by ridiculing the Minister's old-fashioned manners. The Mahrattas, too, were disturbing the peace of the Deccan, and a subordinate Muslim officer was contumacious. All these things combined to influence his decision; and in July 1724 he departed for Haidarábád, to found the still-flourishing principality of the Deccan. After many chances and changes, in 1884 the total area of the "Nizám's dominions" was 81,807 square miles, with a population of nearly ten millions of souls—not much inferior to the kingdom of Spain. Amin Khán's son, Kamr-ud-din, became titular Vazir; but Abdul Samad, the Paymaster-General, exercised the chief power, under the title of Khán Daurán. The Nizám was propitiated by all sorts of attentions, including a brevet of *Vakil-i-Mutlaq*, "Plenipotentiary Agent," or Lieutenant-General of the Empire—an office which, under the existing conditions, must have been chiefly honorary.

With his administration of his province this history has no direct concern; but it is interesting to notice that Kháfi Khán bears warm testimony to its energy and success. Travel and traffic, he tells us, became once more safe. The people were freed from the double burden of two sets of tax-gatherers. It was impossible to withhold the tribute claimed by the Mahrattas; but the Nizám provided that it should be paid to them by himself in place of their collecting it through their own agents, whose commission of 10 per cent. was, at the same time, saved. In one part of the Peninsula, therefore, some care was being taken of the people.

The events of the next seven years are of little im-

portance. The Emperor, we are told, resigned himself to frivolous pursuits when freed from the control of the Sáýid brothers. This caused a spirit of opposition on the part of those very nobles by whose aid he had secured his independence ; and under a sense of this hostility the Emperor became more and more disinclined for the discharge of his duties as a ruler. Disorders multiplied, subordinate nobles and officials, Muslim as well as Hindu, “ stretching out the hand of rapacity and extortion upon the weaker tributaries and upon the wretched subjects.”

Dhonkal Singh, the eldest son of the deceased Ajit, became Rája of Jodhpur ; Jai Singh returned to his own country, and devoted himself to the adornment of his new capital, Jaipur, still one of the fairest of Indian cities. Other parts of Hindustan began to be much troubled. In 1726 a Pretender appeared in Rohilkhand, who was conquered by an army of fifteen thousand Imperialists, and sent as a prisoner to Dehli. In the following year Saádat was ordered to exchange Audh for Málwa ; but it was found impossible to carry out the arrangement : and in the following year Saádat made an expedition at the head of sixty thousand men against Kanauj, which he subdued and delivered to the charge of a Hindu dependent of his own. In 1729 more desultory fighting occurred in Rohilkhand ; and in 1730 a Sáýid was killed in the chief mosque of Dehli as he was denouncing the negligent Emperor and attempting to prevent the Minister from mentioning the Sovereign's name in the public Litany. About the same time the head of the Bangash tribe of Patháns founded the principality of Farokhábad, a shadow of which continued to exist until 1858.

This nobleman, who was a Rohilla Pathán named

Muhamad Khán, had been a *protégé* of the late Emperor Farokh Siyar, after whom he named his new city. He was much trusted by the present Government, and was employed about 1731 against Rájá Chatrsál of Bundelkhand from whom he wrested the strong fort of Jaitgarh. Chatrsál sought the aid of the Mahratta Peshwa, Báji Rao, who was by this time all-powerful. The Peshwa, with—as has always been supposed—the connivance of the Nizám, availed himself of the pretext to cross the Narbada, and interfere in the affairs of Hindustán. The first brunt of the storm fell upon Málwa, of which the Bangash was Governor. His first failure was in the attempt to defend Jaitgarh, beyond his border, but a conquest which he was anxious to retain, and which lay upon the enemy's line of advance. Kaim Khán, his son, relieved him at the head of a Pathán levy, and he retreated to Allahábád, leaving Málwa to be over-run by the Mahrattas. About two years later he made an effort to drive them out, but his effort proved unsuccessful, and he was himself expelled and forced to seek an asylum with the Nizám. The Dehli Government on this removed the Bangash from his post and bestowed it on the Rájá of Jaipur, Jai Singh Siwai, so often mentioned in this narrative.

In the same year died Mir Jumla, the former favourite of Farokh Siyar, who contrived to preserve life and fortune through nearly a score of troublous years. He was a man of genuine worth, learned, and a munificent patron of letters.

Jai Singh—whose military talents were not equal to his mathematical abilities—was soon compelled to make terms with the Mahrattas. He and Dhonkal Singh—the new ruler of Jodhpur—made the best provision they could for their own interests ; and the Mahrattas, un-

checked, advanced upon Hindustán. In that country, meanwhile, troubles had increased. A formidable riot had been raised by the Hindus in the capital; they took possession of the Cathedral Mosque and were with difficulty dislodged by a flight of rockets discharged upon them under the orders of the Vazir, Kamr-ud-din Khán. Then a great pestilence raged, which, beginning at Patna, spread over the whole land as far as Lahore, and is said to have been accompanied by a mephitic odour proceeding from the soil. This was followed by the rigours of a wholly unprecedented winter, in which water froze and snow fell. This, probably, stayed the plague.

In December 1732 the Emperor was amusing himself with a protracted hunting-party, regardless of the woes of his subjects, when news was brought that the Mahrattas had reached Agra. He moved against them as far as the river Hindan, but they retired. Next year he despatched an army to chastise them; it was commanded by Muzafar Khán, brother of Abdul Samad the Khán Daurán. Relying on the at least passive support of the Nizám, the Mahrattas had now occupied the whole country between Ajmir and Gwalior, from which latter place they were again threatening Agra. The Khán Daurán himself subsequently took the field in support of his brother, but wasted time in idle pomp and display. The Imperial preparations—as Grant Duff the historian of the Mahrattas observes—“commenced in bombast and ended in ridicule”; and the wits of the Court repeated a couplet at the expense of their futile General in the style of the almost contemporaneous Scottish ballad, *Eh! Johnny Cope, are ye marching yet?*

But the Persian immigrant Saádat Khán, the Viceroy

of Audh, though as a politician only distinguished by his superior astuteness, was a far more resolute soldier than the degenerate nobles of Hindustán. His spirit burned within him to see the central regions of the Empire thus profaned and thus defended. Moving from Lucknow with a fine force of infantry, and calling for assistance from the Bangash of Farokhábad, he moved up the Duáb. At Etáwa he found a division of the Mahratta army under Malhár Rao Holkar, whom he attacked and routed with terrible carnage. Thence proceeding north he drove the advanced Mahratta columns out of Jalesar and Saidábád, beyond Agra ; and, as the scattered fugitives rallied to the Peshwa near Gwalior, he pursued them as far as Dholpur on the Chambal, half-way on the high road between the two cities. He would probably have crossed the river and completed their ruin had he not been checked, first by letters from the Khán Daurán, and afterwards by the arrival of that officer. Khán Daurán was destined to die a soldier's death ; but we cannot avoid seeing that he appears in an unfavouring light throughout the present business. Unwilling or unable to expel the Southerners himself, he grew jealous of a better man, and impeded his movements when a blow might have been struck that would have had important consequences.

The only other competent commander of those times was the Nizám. Acting in the egotistic fashion then too common, he had connived at the Mahratta expedition in order to divert attack from his own territories. He now began to think that matters had gone too far. The Peshwa, seeing that Saádat did not advance beyond the Chámbal, made a flank march in the direction of Dehli. Tughlakábád and Tilpat were pillaged, the Imperial residence itself was insulted. But the success of the

movement went no further. Saádat hurried up by forced marches, and the Emperor mustered his remaining forces, while the Khán came up in a more leisurely manner. On this the Peshwa decamped.

Meanwhile—about the middle of 1737—the Nizám had arrived with a fresh division from the Deccan. The Peshwa, who had got back into the Dúáb, was driven out, and forced to retire south. Then, wheeling round, the Nizám followed, hoping to take the offensive against the retiring foe. But he was unsupported by the degenerate Government; and was surrounded and blockaded by the Mahrattas in Bhopal, then becoming an independent Muslim State, as it is to this day. After an unsuccessful attempt to break the line of blockade, he was forced to negotiate. The result was the surrender of Málwa and of the whole country between the Chambal and Narbada rivers. This war must have lasted some years; the ignominious treaty is dated by Grant Duff so late as 11th February 1738.

The Rájputs alone, by mingled negotiation and firmness, had kept their territories free of invasion. North of the Jumna the Viceroy of Audh, Saádat Khán, maintained order as well as he was able, with the aid of his nephew, afterwards to succeed him under the famous title of Safdar Jang (“Piercer of the ranks of battle”). Further still towards the head of the Dúáb, Kamr-ud-din, the Vazir, made an attack upon Jánsath, and the adjacent seats of the Bárha Sáyids, near Muzafarnagar, which he laid waste with slaughter.

While the country was being thus harassed by Mahratta greed and Muslim contentiousness, and rebellion, a foreign danger suddenly appeared. It has never been certainly known what was the immediate motive of Nádir Sháh's incursion into Hindustán. All that can

be positively asserted on the subject is shown in the following summary.

Nádir was born of Turkmán parents in the province of Khorasán about 1688 A.D. When seventeen years old he was taken captive by the Uzbeks, among whom he remained in slavery about four years. After escaping thence he led a life of adventure for some years; till, having gradually collected a band of unscrupulous followers, he became paramount in his native province. The Afgháns, who were then dominant in Persia, attacked him without success; and he ultimately overthrew their power and restored the Safavi dynasty of Persia in the person of Sháh Tahmasp. In 1731—acting as generalissimo of the Sháh—he attacked the Osmánli Turks and wrested from them a part of Armenia; and in the following year imprisoned the feeble sovereign and administered the Empire of Persia in the name of Sháh Abbás, his (Tahmasp's) son. In the beginning of 1736 Abbás died, and Nádir became king, in reality and in title. He once more attacked the Osmánlis, and forced them to cede Georgia. He now resolved to attack the Afgháns, and captured Candahár. Proceeding thence to Cábul, about the end of 1737, he took that city from the Deputy Governor, who held it for the Emperor of Hindustán; then, alleging a pretext in the slaughter of one of his agents at Jalálábád, came down upon the Punjab, with some trouble from the Afgháns and a feeble opposition from the Mughol governor, Násir Khán. The Sháh was at the head of a mixed force, of which the nucleus were Persian *Kizilbásh*. Like all great commanders, he was a strict disciplinarian. In the stage of his career which we are considering his system was justice, of the rewarding sort, tempered with severity. Later on severity prevailed.

It was believed by the Hindu writer followed by Dow that Nádir's invasion was brought about by an invitation jointly addressed to him by Saádat and the Nizám. Saádat was himself a Persian, and a man of intrigue ; but the old Turkmán was his rival, and an habitual servant and supporter of the Mughol throne, who was hardly likely to join in an act of villainy for which he could scarcely have had much temptation, and from which it is difficult to suppose that he could expect any advantage. Let him have the benefit of the doubt which assuredly exists. The painstaking, but not always accurate, author of the *Suyar-ul-Matakharn* says that the Persian Government had long been urging, by repeated envoys, grievances which the Court of Dehli persistently disregarded. But, although favourable generally to Saádat, he admits that this noble had some correspondence with the Sháh.

On hearing that the Persians had reached Lahore the Emperor Muhamad moved from Dehli at the head of a considerable army, accompanied by the Heir Apparent, Mirza Ahmad, and his chief officers, Kamr-ud-din, the Khán Daurán, and the Nizám. He reached Karnál about the middle of February 1738, and was joined there by Saádat, the Audh viceroy, with some fifty thousand horse. Meanwhile, the Persian army, which had met with little opposition since it debouched from the Khaibar pass, had moved slowly through the Punjab, wasting the country with a deliberate malice which must be charged to the account of its leader, seeing that he had his people completely in hand.

On the 24th of February 1738, Saádat made a sudden and probably insincere attack on a body of Persians who had attempted—or pretended—to plunder his baggage. Pursuing the beaten foe too far he was surrounded by

a superior force. The Emperor ordered the Khán Daurán to his support; and the old soldier moved hastily out without awaiting the support of his guns. He came, however, too late to save Saádat—if that chief required saving, which is questionable; when the Khán Daurán arrived the Viceroy was already a prisoner in the hands of the Persians. The Mughol general himself was overpowered and mortally wounded in the encounter that ensued.

The Persian monarch, however, was sobered by this unexpected resistance. The Hindustánis had fought better than he expected. His own force was not very large, and had been nearly decimated in the long and obstinate fighting of the day. He was therefore prepared to listen favourably to the negotiations which the Nizám opened in the name of the Emperor, of which the main point was that Nádir should retire with a reasonable indemnity.

It has been shown that Saádat was a Persian, who was suspected of conniving at the proceedings of his compatriots. His premature attack and his sudden capture formed a ground of suspicion. His complicity with the invasion receives further confirmation from the fact that it was at his suggestion that Nádir ultimately rejected the proposals of the Nizám; and—whether or no he is answerable for the original incursion—his memory must for ever bear the burden of all the further evil that was now to fall on his adopted country.

Unnerved by a life of self-indulgence, and disturbed in his mind by suspicions of all around him, the Emperor Muhamad suddenly ordered his litter and caused his porters to carry him into the Persian camp. He was received with due courtesy

and introduced into Nádir's presence. Seating him on his own left, the rough and earnest warrior addressed him in terms of merited reproach: "What a ruler in Islám are you! You not only pay tribute to ~~my~~ heathen savages in the south, but, when an invader comes against you, as I have done, you give up the game without one honest struggle." He then ordered refreshments for the fallen monarch, and retired into another tent to consult with his Minister as to the terms to be offered. On returning to the tent of audience he found the frivolous Muhamad quietly devoting himself to the repast that had meantime been served. "What a man is this," cried Nádir to his Minister, who accompanied him, "who can take so easily the loss of power and liberty! But there are only two ways of meeting trouble; either one must suffer patiently or act boldly, either despise fortune or exert all one's powers to subdue it. Muhamad chooses the former, the second is the course for me." He then informed his philosophic prisoner that he had no quarrel with the house of Taimur, but found it absolutely impossible that he should retire without first proceeding to the capital. It was necessary that his men should enjoy some repose before marching back; while he himself must be paid an adequate indemnity for the expenses of the war.

The Nizám was obliged to submit. He was, it may be remembered, Lieutenant-General of the Empire, and had superseded his incapable cousin the Vazir in the government of affairs. But the Commander-in-Chief had died of his wounds; the Emperor was domesticated in the camp of the invaders; and the Mughol army had lost its leaders and felt, probably, no stomach for further fighting. They amalgamated with the Persians, and all

moved slowly on the metropolis. Dehli was reached on the 19th of March, and good order was preserved in the camp and city.

The terms of the indemnity would probably have now been arranged, the money paid, and the country evacuated peaceably, but for an unforeseen event. A petty provocation offered to a private soldier led, one evening, to a quarrel. Some armed citizens attacked a party of Persians. Blood was shed, a tumult arose, the rumour was spread that Nádir was killed, many Persians were slaughtered. Nádir was awoke at midnight with the report that his men were being massacred in the city. Hurrying from the palace he proceeded to the Chándui Chauk to examine into the matter for himself. Here he found that the report was correct. On this the ferocity of the soldier of fortune came upon him, that mood of mad anger which must usually be latent in the character of such a man. Guns were ordered out, and the streets swept with grape. Then, seated on the terrace of the mosque (then recently built) of Raushan-ud-Daula, next to the police-station, he personally superintended the punishment of the offending city. From daybreak to four o'clock in the afternoon a methodical murder of the people went on, till the Dariba, a bazaar close by, ran red with the blood of bankers and merchants, the neighbouring quarter was set on fire, and many houses were reduced to ashes. No one dared to remonstrate with the stern despot, for (as a native chronicler relates) "his countenance was dark and terrible." At length the Persian Minister accompanied the Emperor Muhamad to the spot, and there, weeping and lamenting in the attitude and manner of suppliants, they stood before the man of blood and pleaded for the remnant of the people.

The word of pardon was then issued, the Kotwál was sent through the city with Persian heralds proclaiming peace, and every sabre was sheathed as readily as it had been drawn. But, in the nine hours during which those weapons had been unsheathed, one hundred and twenty thousand persons, if truth be told, had perished, victims to a wrangle over the price of an ounce of oil. Nádir then returned to the palace, where the weeping Muhamad was soon consoled. They sate on the throne side by side; that great and precious throne that had been completed by the magnificent Sháh Jahán, and had since his time been the seat of occupants of such varied character; it had been plundered by the Saiyids, and was now stripped of its remaining decorations, though the framework is said to exist to this day at Teheran. The proceeds of plunder included the famous Koh-i-nur diamond, now among the British regalia; various sums were assessed upon the members of the Dehli nobility and mercantile men, who had to collect the money as they could, and many of whom committed suicide. Saádat of Audh was believed to have been among these; what is certain is that he died at the time, the night before the massacre. Including the indemnity, the amount taken out of the country by the Persians was estimated as high as one hundred and forty-three millions of British sterling. The indirect losses, the suspension of industry, the loss of labour, the demoralisation, who shall estimate?

It was the 25th of May (O.S.) when the Persians marched out of Dehli, in as good order and discipline as when they entered. Nádir took with him a lady said to have been the grand-daughter of Sháh Jahán—more probably of his son Murád—whom he had

married to one of his sons, together with a treaty by which the Emperor Muhamad had ceded to him the whole of the provinces of Cábul and Sindh. He returned to his own country, where he became a cruel tyrant, and finally perished by assassination, his throne being overturned, and his dynasty destroyed.

Historical memory must travel back many centuries to find a parallel to the shock received by the Empire from this short but terrible affair. In three short months a death-blow had been struck at prestige and prosperity which had grown under the labours of Akbar and Abul Fazl, and which might, under ordinary conditions, have lingered on for ages, like the contemporaneous Empire of China. Nor was the swift agony immediately final, nor was there anything to take the vacant place. The welfare of Hindustán was to ebb slowly still. The Empire was to stand a spectacle of tardy ruin ; like some monarch of the wood whose trunk has been hollowed by age and its top struck by lightning ; yet the old tree continues to cumber the ground, an unsightly and unprofitable mass.

The Nizám continued to live at Dehli, being represented in the Deccan by his able and virtuous son Násir Jang. This Prince successfully resisted the Mahrattas, who, in consequence, turned once more towards Hindustán. But when they had reached the northern border of Bundelkhand, and were about to cross the Jumna, they heard of the death of the Peshwa Báji Rao, and returned to Satára.

In the following year (1741) a Mughol army made a campaign against several of the Hindu princes ; it overcame the Játs and Bhadaurias, but failed in Bundelkhand. About the same time Mir Manu, or Müin-ud-din—of whom we shall hear more—went to Ajmir as

governor, but soon returned, after making over the power there to Raja Jai Singh.

Towards the end of the year the Nizám went southwards, and got as far as Burhánpur, where he took the power over from his son Násir. His eldest son, Gházi-ud-din, remained at Dehli as Amir-ul-Umra (Premier Peer) in the room of the late Abd-us-Samad (Khán Daurán), slain (as we saw) in the battle of Karnál. Ahmad Sháh, the Heir Apparent, remained secluded in the palace, taking no share in the sports to which his father was so much addicted, but for which increasing physical infirmity was fast rendering him unfit.

In 1743 died the Mirza Rája, Jai Singh Siwai, the astronomer and the founder of Jaipur. He was over eighty years of age, and had played a conspicuous part for half a century. He was succeeded by his son Ishri Singh.

The Deccan had now, as we have seen, become practically severed from the Empire. The next loss was that of a province much nearer to the centre. A Pathán soldier of fortune, named Dáúd Khán, had, in the early part of the reign, associated himself with a petty Hindu chief at Sarauli in the north-west corner of Katahr—or Rohelkhand, as it is now called—and organized a gang of free-booters. In the plunder of a neighbouring village Dáúd had captured a lad of the Ját tribe, whom he brought up as a Muslim, giving him the name of Ali Muhamad, and treating him as a son. Some years later the two quarrelled with their Hindu friend, and entered the service of the Imperial Subahdár, Azmat Khán; and, on the death of Dáúd, his adopted son became the head of the Rohelas (or "Rohillas") in those parts and threw off all submission to the Court of Dehli. In 1745 a force was sent against him, and he

was routed and taken. Being soon after released, he established himself at Aola, and became virtually independent. About the same time the Eastern Subahs (Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa) ceased to pay tribute, and were formed into a hereditary dominion under a Turk-mán soldier of fortune, named Allah Wirdi, who had long been in power there, having slain the last Imperial Viceroy; he is known to English historians as "Aliverdi Khán." Kandahár and Kábul had been permanently separated ever since their conquest by Nádir. The provinces of Hindustán and the Punjáb, though remaining nominally Imperial, also ceased to pay any revenue to Dehli; and the Emperor's pleasures were only supported by what income his servants could raise from the crown-lands in the immediate neighbourhood of the metropolis. But a new generation of Mughol nobles was now rising, who only needed a competent leader to produce at least a temporary rally in the decay of the once mighty Empire.

After the assassination of Nádir Sháh—which took place in the night of the 12th May 1747—one of the officers, an Afghán of the Abdáli tribe named Ahmad Khán—possessed himself of Kandahár and laid the foundation of the modern Afghán power. In the beginning of 1748 the Abdáli chief—henceforth known by the title Ahmad Sháh—having become master of Kábul, moved on the Punjáb by way of Pesháwar, and reached Lahore without opposition. But he had over-estimated both his own strength and the weakness of the enemy. The Emperor Muhammad, suffering apparently under a functional weakness of the heart, was unwilling or unable to take the field. But he was enabled to muster a considerable force by the aid of Safdar Jang, the new Viceroy of Audh. The army was under the nominal

command of the Heir Apparent, Mirza Ahmad, but really led by the Paymaster—whose office, indeed, involved the chief command of the forces. For eleven days skirmishes occurred near the old town of Sirhind, not far from Ambála ; and on Friday, the 11th March, a more decisive action took place, commenced by an artillery-fire from the invaders. The occasion is memorable as the last on which a Hindustani army, by its unaided exertions, defeated a northern attack. The Paymaster, Kamr-ud-din, was killed in his tent by a round-shot, and some degree of panic arose among the Imperialists, by which the Abdáli at first profited. But the deceased Minister's son, Mir Manu, was a resolute successor in the command ; he was well seconded by Safdar Jang, and the fight was maintained until a magazine of rockets in the Afghán ranks exploded with great and fatal effect. The Abdáli, finding his men disheartened, and having a good deal of plunder, the loss of which he was unwilling to hazard, determined to retire while he could still do so in good order. Five days later there was a renewal of the fighting ; but it seems to have been little more than a cannonade, under the mask of which the Abdáli withdrew his troops and booty. No serious pursuit was attempted by the Indian officers, who were doubtless rejoiced to have got rid of the invaders so cheaply.

When the news reached Dehli the Emperor's nerves underwent a fatal shock. He retired to his chamber and spent the night in solitary lamentation. Next day he appeared as usual in *darbár*, and attempted to go on with the business of the morning. Everyone was loud in praise of Kamr-ud-din, the deceased commander. The monarch listened, but it was with a sinking courage. At last he spoke : "The staff of my old age is broken," he murmured ; "no such faithful ser-

vant can I ever find again." As he was thus bewailing himself, a sudden fit, probably of *angina pectoris*, came on him, and he slipped from his seat. His attendants sprang forward to raise him ; but life was extinct. This event took place on, or about, the 16th April 1748.

Muhamad Sháh was a type of his race ; physically active, and even brave, not deficient in intelligence, but morally feeble and irresolute. A Mughol friend said of him that his soul was like a lake, whose waters, easily agitated by a passing breeze, resumed their calm as soon as the cause of disturbance passed away. The circumstances of his end, however, seem to show that he could feel more deeply than this description would indicate.

NOTE.—The authorities for this chapter—besides the *Siyar-ul-Mutákhharin* and the native historians translated by Elliot and Dowson—are Dow, Grant Duff, Fraser's *Life of Nádir Sháh*, and Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*. The variations between Old and New Style make it impossible to fix the dates with exact accuracy. Indeed, it is not always easy to identify even the years. Fraser's book contains particulars of the Dehli massacre communicated by Sirbaland Khán, who was a clerk employed in the accounts of the indemnity. The book was published in 1742, and is a careful study of the Indian part of the Shah's career.

CHAPTER IV.

AHMAD SHÁH. 'ALAMGIR II. CAMPAIGN OF ABDÁLI.
A.D. 1748-1761.

THE author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutákharrin* thus refers to the death of Muhamad Sháh : " It may be said with truth that under his reign the subjects enjoyed much tranquillity : the Government being still respected, the honour of the Empire maintained, and the majesty of the Throne preserved. For, after his demise, everything went to wreck, and he may be considered as the seal of the House of Bábar."

Nevertheless, there was a certain promise about the opening of the new reign. Ahmad Sháh was proclaimed, without opposition, on his return to Dehli about a week after his father's death ; and he appeared to be supported by a competent set of ministers. The old Nizám was a match for the Mahrattas south of the Narbada ; and the gallant Manu was endeavouring to strengthen himself in the Punjáb, where an irruption of the Afgháns under the Emperor's namesake, Ahmad the Abdáli, might at any time be expected. Abul Mansur—or Safdar Jang—nephew and son-in-law of the late Saádat, was Viceroy of Audh ; and another Saádat—who held the offices of Premier Peer and Paymaster-General—was appointed to

the Governorship of Rájpután—then greatly disturbed by contentions among the native Rájas.

On the 19th June 1748 the Nizám died at Burhánpur,* leaving his usurped dominions to be fought for by his sons in the Mughol manner. Safdar Jang, who had been nominated Prime Minister, but had foreborne the honour while the old man lived, now assumed the titular functions; the power being, to a great extent, exercised by the Empress-Mother.

Enough has been seen of the Nizám in the course of the preceding narrative to make it plain that he was a man of extraordinary merit, who would have been more distinguished on a more distinguished stage. Nawáb Ghulám Hosain, the author of the *Siyar*, quaintly opines that “avarice and ambition were the basis of his character; if we can get over that, we shall find him to have been a combination of all sorts of excellent qualities.” Rather will a more extended view of comparative history perceive in him a person of unusual resolution, shrewdness, beneficence, literary skill, and—above all things—a prudence that never failed. His house was always open to poor scholars from every region of the East between the Balkan and the Pamir; he left a volume of lyrics that are still read; he built mosques, caravansarais, palaces, bridges, and canals; his temper was scarcely ever ruffled. This was the essential man; the grasping and egoism were the result of circumstances. Of ancient and distinguished Turkmán lineage, and of unapproachable genius, he towered among his contemporaries to such an extent that the great Minister Zulfikár Khán, in the height of his power, never dreamed

* It is said by Elphinstone that he died at Arcot at the age of seventy-seven. He was, however, over 100 according to the best authorities. (*Vide Beale, in voc.*)

of social equality with Chin Kulich Khán, 'Asaf Jáh, Nizám-ul-Mulk, or with Firoz Jang, his father. And he was that which is rarest among men—a Founder; and the State which he founded is still living and strong.

Having filled the place, left vacant at Court by the decease of the Nizám, by the appointment of Safdar Jang, the best man left him, the Emperor ought to have taken care that the new Prime Minister was duly trusted and duly supported. Instead of this, he withdrew from all share in public business, and left the provinces to their growing disintegration, while he enjoyed the pleasures to which his opportunities appeared to invite. This frivolity was inherited on both sides. We have seen that his father was a careless man of the world; his mother was something worse—a Hindu dancing-girl named Udham Bai, who assumed the style of “Nawáb Kudsiya Begam.” She was entirely governed by a favourite named Jávid Khán, for whom she procured the title of Nawáb Bahádur, and who—without responsible office—undertook the management of all public business.

The two chief remaining provinces, the Punjáb and Rohelkhand, soon became the scene of violent and bloody contests. The Patháns, Rohelas or Rohillas, defeated Safdar Jang, carrying the war into his dominions, and the Minister was only able to retrieve his losses by the dangerous and disgraceful expedient of calling in the aid of the Mahrattas. With this assistance Safdar Jang combined that of the Játs—a rising Hindu power to be described presently—and was thus enabled to drive the Rohillas across the Ganges and push them up into the Tarai, or swampy country at the foot of the Kamaon hills, where famine and fever

would soon have completed their ruin had not their enemies been diverted by the appearance in the neighbourhood of Lahore of the foreign Afgháns under Ahmad the Abdáli. The Mahrattas were idemnified for their services by being allowed to occupy a part of Rohelkhand and to draw tribute from the remainder. In further consideration of these grants they promised to assist in the campaign against the Abdáli. But when they arrived at Dehli it was found that Manu, the Viceroy of the Punjáb, had already been obliged to conclude peace with the Abdáli by consenting to hold the provinces of Multán and Lahore as his feudatory, an arrangement in which the imbecile Government had acquiesced.

Mention has been before made of two parties in the Mughol State, the Shias, Persians, or "Lords of Irán," and the Sunnis, Turkmán's, or "Lords of Turán." In general we shall usually find the latter associated with the foreign Muslim invaders, the former being accordingly led to be dependent on the support of the Hindu powers.

Meanwhile the Imperial Government had been equally discredited on the southern side of the capital, where the titular Viceroy of Rájpután had been sent to operate with a showy force. This was Saádat Khán, the Paymaster-General, who was charged to mediate between two pretenders to the Rájaship of Jodhpur, and marched out to take up his office at Ajmir by the ancient road of the Empire which led through the Ját country. Had he been an intelligent member of the Iranian party to which he belonged, he would have conciliated Suraj Mal, the able chief of the Játs, and endeavoured to carry out his object by impartiality backed by a show of force. Instead of this he wasted his time and strength by irritating hostilities towards the Játs, and, when at last he reached Ajmir, he was naturally

unsupported by Suraj Mal, and allowed himself to be entangled in the Rájput intrigues which it had been the object of his mission to suppress. After fifteen months of futile efforts he returned without having done anything, and at once turned his attention to an attempt against the position of the favourite, Jávid. Hereupon the Turkish element was employed against him; he was dismissed from all his titles and offices; Gházi-ud-din, one of the Nizám's sons, became *Amir-ul-Umra*, or Captain-General; and Safdar Jang, seeing the party of Irán for the present overthrown, departed in disgust to his independent Viceroyship in Audh.

Gházi-ud-din's tenure of office was but brief. His brother, Násir Jang, had died about two years after his father, slain in a tumult 5th December 1750. This event, and the consequent struggles for power at Haidarábád, determined the Amír to make over his office at Dehli to his nephew, Mir Shaháb-ud-din, and proceed to the Deccan in order to assert his claim to the more substantial post of Viceroy there. Deccan politics being beyond our sphere, we need only note that he died at Aurangábád in October 1752.

Gladly did the remains of the Persian party see their rival thus depart, little dreaming of the dangerous character of the able, unscrupulous boy whom he left behind. This youth—he was but sixteen—was appointed Captain-General with the sanction of Safdar Jang, who was still titular Vazir of the Empire, and who about this time returned to Dehli, where he procured the assassination of the favourite, Jávid, and contemplated the acquisition of supreme power. But the young Amir—whom we are in future to know by the title of his late uncle, Gházi-ud-din—was by no means disposed to acquiesce in the return to power of the party of Irán.

Moreover, the Emperor, who was a Sunni, was disposed to favour the foreign, or Turanian party of the Afgháns and Turkmáns.

Jávid's murder took place on the 28th August 1752, and was the signal for a fierce outbreak between the two parties: the contest which had been conducted with something like constitutional decorum between the Persian Saádat Ali and the old Nizám, was now renewed in a coarser and cruder form between the nephew of the former and the grandson of the latter. The streets of Dehli became the scene of open war between the two factions. Many splendid remains of the old cities in the neighbourhood were destroyed in these operations. The Viceroy of Audh—who desired to resume the active exercise of his power as Vazir, but was excluded from the city—called in the Játs under Suraj Mal, and plundered the environs; a bastion of the wall of New Dehli was breached, the victory of the Persian faction seemed secure. But Mir Manu, the governor of the Punjáb, sent aid to his young kinsman at the critical moment. A party of veteran soldiers, inured in Afghán warfare, came down from the Punjáb to the aid of Gházi-ud-din; the Turanians triumphed, and Gházi became master of the State and its forces. The post of Vazir was taken from Safdar Jang and given to Intizám-ud-daula, the *Khánkhánán*, son of the late Kamr-ud-din. The date of this revolution is about the end of 1753. Safdar Jang, indisposed to submit, raised the standard of rebellion, and was joined by Suraj Mal. Their combination was defeated with aid from the Mahrattas, and Safdar Jang—who was more remarkable for sagacity than courage—retired once more to his own territory of Audh. The hand of the Captain-General fell heavily on the Játs, his deserted allies. At the same time the Mahrattas, under

chiefs of the Holkar and Sindhia families, overran Gujurát and Rájpután, placing both Rájput and Imperial territory under contribution and then joining the Imperialists in their attack upon the Játs.

The Emperor and his new Vazir seem now to have thought that matters had gone far enough ; for the Játs were dangerous enemies, and the Vazir was jealous of the ascendancy of his young kinsman and patron. Accordingly, when the latter—who was besieging Bhartpur, the Ját capital—sent to Dēhli for a siege-train, it was refused, and a letter was despatched to Suraj Mal encouraging him in resistance.

The Emperor was now in a situation that called for qualities to which he had no pretension. His Minister, Intizám-ud-daula, offered him the choice of two lines of conduct, either of which seemed to promise safety, if not success. To recall Sadar Jang and openly collect all the Hindu princes to espouse the cause of the Játs would probably cost but one campaign, well-planned and vigorously executed. On the other hand, to support the audacious Captain-General honestly and without reserve would ensure immediate repose while it crushed a formidable Hindu power.

The irresolute voluptuary before whom these plans were laid was unable to accept either in a manful spirit. As soon as he could muster a force he marched out of the capital with the avowed intention of supporting the Captain-General, his unavowed intention being to co-operate with the Játs and place his too able Lieutenant between two fires. He wrote a second letter to Suraj Mal, to whom he promised that he would fall on the rear of the army that was beleaguering them in his name, if the Játs would at the same time make a sortie from their fortress and attack Gházi in front.

Safdar Jang, not being summoned, remained sullenly aloof. The Emperor's letter fell into the hands of the Captain-General, by whom it was returned to the writer with open menaces. The alarmed monarch began to fall back upon the capital, pursued by his rebellious Minister. Holkar, coming up from another quarter, fell unexpectedly upon the Imperialists at Sikanderábád (near Bulandshahr), where he seized the camp. The ladies of the Emperor's family were stripped of all their ornaments and sent to Dehli in country-carts. The pusillanimous Emperor himself fled precipitately into Dehli, where he and the Vazir took refuge in the palace, in which they were promptly invested by their pursuing enemies.

Knowing the man with whom they had to deal, they ought to have seen that their last hope was in a spirited resistance, combined with an earnest appeal to the Audh viceroy and to the Ját chief, who might, perhaps, have been able to arrive in time to rescue them; and that is believed to have been the tenour of the Vazir's advice. But the Emperor, too ready to see the difficulties which this course, no doubt, presented, preferred a timid and temporising policy. Upon this, the Vazir retired to his house, which he prepared to defend to the last; and the remaining adherents of the Emperor admitted the Captain-General into the palace, and made terms for themselves.

Ghází-ud-din on this invested himself with the official robes of Vazir, and convened a *durbár* from which he obtained, as a vote of the Cabinet, what was doubtless the suggestion of his own ambition. "This *Pádsháh*," said the assembled nobles, "has shown his unfitness for rule. He is unable to cope with the Hindus, he is false and fickle towards the Muslims. Let him be de-

posed in favour of a worthier son of Taimur!" This resolution was at once carried out; the Emperor was blinded and sent to the Salim-Garh, the State-prison of the palace; and a son of Jahándár Sháh proclaimed by the title of Alamgir the Second. The date of these events is 5th June 1754. Intizám-ud-Daula was deprived of his wealth and dignities, and, subsequently, put to death.

The new Emperor was an elderly man—his father, it will be remembered, died in 1713. He had devoted his sequestered existence to the study of theology. He was devout and scrupulous in attendance at public worship, but not thought likely to take an active part in administration of State affairs. His unhappy predecessor was no further molested; and remained in seclusion till 1775, when he died a natural death. Intizám-ud-Daula, the Khánkhánán, disappears from public life; he is supposed to have been kept in custody till his murder in 1759, though the circumstances are not clearly traceable.

One name, afterwards to become very prominent, is heard of for the first time during these transactions. Najib Khán was an Afghán soldier of fortune, married to the daughter of Dundi Khán, one of the sons of Ali Muhamad; and he had obtained the northern districts in the partition of Rohelkhand, which took place after that chieftain's death. Rising from the command of a sergeant's guard, he signalised himself by courage and activity till, after making this powerful connection, he was entrusted with the district of Bijnaur as a *jaigir* or military fief. In 1753 he bore a part in the campaign against Safdar Jang when that noble was driven back into Audh. In that campaign Najib was wounded, and his prowess procured for him the favour of Gházi, then

all-powerful. He was now sent northward to take charge of the country about Saháranpur, known in those days as "the Fifty-two Parganas," which had been the fief of the Khánkhánán Intizám-ud-daula; this tract continued, for several generations, to form the territory of Najib's family. Though not without the faults of a *condottiere*, he was superior to the Hindustánis of his time, and possessed a stock of considerable personal merit; being active, painstaking, and true to his engagements. When he surmounted his initial difficulties he proved himself a capable administrator. He ruled over the dwindled Empire for nine years; and died a peaceful death, leaving his estates to his son, and his government at Dehli in a valid condition, ready to be taken over by the lawful monarch when so disposed. He was—as we shall see hereafter—held in high esteem by the British in Bengal.

But the dominions of Akbar had fallen by this time into a pitiable state. Although the whole of the peninsula still owned the nominal sway of the Mughol Emperor, no provinces remained in the actual possession of the Government save a part of the Upper Duáb, and a few districts south of the river Satlaj. Gujarát was overrun by the Mahrattas; Málwa and Rájpután had ceased to pay tribute or to acknowledge an Imperial Viceroy, the former being annexed to the Deccan, the latter held in sovereignty by its own Rájas. The Játs were independent in the country south of Agra, and the Bangash Patháns of Farokhábad were equally so in the Central Duáb. Audh and Allahabad were, practically, a kingdom in the hands of Safdar Jang; the Eastern Subah (Bahár, Bengal, and Orissa) was similarly subject to the dynasty of Alla Wirdi; the Punjab was tributary to the Afghán State of Kandahár; the Mahrattas were supreme

elsewhere, save where the Nizám kept them at arm's length.

Such power as was left to the Dehli Court was now openly appropriated by the youthful king-maker. The opportune death of Safdar Jang, on the 17th October 1754, removed an obstacle out of Gházi's path; while the intrepidity and severity with which (aided by Najib) he quelled a military mutiny, provoked by his own arbitrary conduct, served as a warning to all who might contemplate attacking him in future.

Of such there were not a few, and some in high places. The devout Emperor proved no more tractable in his Vazir's hands than his predecessors, Farokh Siyar and Muhamad Sháh, had in those of the Sáyids. A cabal was formed in the palace, whose constant intrigues neutralised whatever efforts the Vazir made at administration, and kept up a ceaseless irritation and suspicion in his mind.

In the first year of the reign died Mir Manu—or Müin-ud-din—Regent of the Punjáb, brother of the fallen Khánkhánán, and uncle to the young minister, Gházi-ud-din. Ahmad the Abdáli, who claimed to be his sovereign or overlord, conferred the Regency on Manu's widow, who was to be aided by an officer of local experience named Adina Beg, a Hindu by origin, and a self-made man, intelligent and bold.

The Vazir, Gházi, conceived the project of taking advantage of his uncle's death to recover the Punjáb from Afghán domination. Hastily raising such a force as the poor resources of the treasury could furnish, he marched out, accompanied by the Emperor's eldest son Mirza Ali Ganhar. He sent a party of men into Lahore who seized the Regent in her bed, and returned to Dehli, leaving Adina Beg in charge of the provinces

which he claimed to have rescued from the Afgháns. The conquest of his aunt was all that he had really performed, and even that was not complete, for the lady long refused to accept the situation, and uttered the most depressing predictions of coming evil. But the unabashed Vazir married her daughter, and bore, as best he might, the brunt of his mother-in-law's displeasure.

The Abdáli ruler was a person whose anger was far more serious. Stimulated by the solicitations of the Emperor's cabal, and rejoicing at an excuse for fresh plunder, Ahmad marched from Kandahar with such rapidity that he was soon within twenty miles of the capital of Hindustán, where he arrived in the beginning of the year 1757. Accompanied by Najib—who, however, was in secret correspondence with the invader—the Vazir marched out to give battle; and so complete was the isolation into which his violent temper had brought him, that he learned for the first time what was the true state of affairs when he saw the chief part of the army follow Najib into the lines of the enemy, where they were received as guests who had been expected.

In this strait the Vazir had recourse to his mother-in-law, whom he had apparently, by this time, made his friend. Aided by her intercession, and further befriended by the Afghán leader's secretary and chief adviser, he completely ingratiated himself with the Abdáli. The latter, whose main object was the plunder of the wretched people of Hindustán, deputed Gházi to collect tribute in the Dūáb, while his own lieutenant, Sirdár Jahán Khán, proceeded to levy contributions from the Játs.

Gházi succeeded in bringing in a considerable amount

of booty. The attack upon the Játs was not so successful; throwing themselves into their many strongholds, they defied the Afgháns and cut off their advanced parties in sudden sallies. Agra, too, made an obstinate and successful defence under a Mughol governor. The chief exploit of the Afgháns was the surprise of a crowd of holiday-makers at Muttra, whom they attacked during a religious festival, and massacred wholesale. They then returned to Dehli, having suffered much from the heat; and that unfortunate capital was plundered systematically for two months, from September to November 1757.

On his departure, the Abdáli was moved by the entreaties of the unfortunate Emperor to leave Najib in a position which might enable him to act as a check upon the lawless and cruel Vazir. Najib was appointed *Amir-ul-Umra*, and enjoined to support and protect the weak old sovereign.

Having made these arrangements the Abdáli went into cantonments at Anupshahr, on the Ganges; and thence in no long time departed to his own country, whence he had received bad news. He took with him some princesses of the house of Taimur who had solicited his protection, making one of them his own wife, and marrying another to his son whom he left in charge of the Punjáb.

No sooner was his back turned than the Vazir declared open war against the new *Amir*, now entitled Najib-ud-daula. Surrounding himself with a guard of Mahratta mercenaries, he appointed a new *Amir-ul-Umra*, and drove Najib into his fief. About the same time Adina Beg attacked the Afgháns near Lahore and forced them to retreat towards Pesháwar. He died soon after at Khánpur, near Hoshyárpur, leaving no successor.

Meantime Najib was invested, in his fort at Sukartál on the Ganges, by a Mahratta leader sent against him by the Vazir. Appealing for help on the one side to Ahmad Abdáli, and on the other to the new Nawáb of Audh, Najib made a stout defence. A large force of Mahrattas was accordingly detached to invade Rohelkhand and arrest any efforts that might be made for his relief from the direction of Audh. The Rohelas, intimidated and perhaps really overpowered, retired to their usual place of refuge at the foot of the Kamaon Hills. The Mahrattas over-ran the greater part of Rohelkhand. Thus passed the rainy reason of 1758.

Stirring events were at the same time occurring at Dehli. The Emperor's eldest son, Mirza Ali Gauhar, was nominally in charge of the Crown lands in the neighbourhood of the capital when the Vazir contrived to induce him to come into the city and take up his abode in what had been the house of Sháh Jahán's Persian Minister, Ali Mardán. This was a fortified enclosure, the back of which looked on the river. Here he learned that the Vazir was sending a strong party to convey him by force into the Salim-Garh, so often mentioned as the State-prison situate within the precincts of the palace.

The Prince had already been obliged, under a pretext of economy, to dismiss all his escort save a few companions and a handful of picked guards. The author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, whose father was at Dehli and an adherent of the Prince at the time, names two of them, Sáyids, named, respectively, Mir Jáfar Ali and A'zam 'Ali Khán; from other sources we learn that a third was a Hindu named Rájá Ramnáth. By the advice of these faithful followers the prince resolved to cut his way out or perish in the attempt. There was a

breach in the back wall, towards the river, and while the bulk of the assailants were engaged in forcing an entrance by the front, clambering over the terraced roofs, and shooting down the sentries, the Prince, with his companions and a few troops, mounted their horses, rode through the breach, fell upon the party there sword in hand, and, having dispersed them with some slaughter, plunged into the sands of the Jumna. One alone—Azim Ali—halted in the rear, and undertook to oppose the pursuers while the Prince made good his escape. He paid for his devotion with his life; but the Prince got away towards Bahádurgarh.

Here he first sought refuge in the camp of a Mahratta chief, by whom he was conducted in honour and safety to the landholder of the Baloch village of Farokh-nagar. Hence he proceeded northward to Najib-ud-daula, by whom he was treated with respect, but who, apparently, was afraid to harbour him long. Crossing Rohelkhand, with help from one of the chiefs of the country, the royal wanderer reached Lucknow on the 19th January 1759. Shujää-ud-daula, son and successor of the deceased Viceroy, received him kindly; and after a while persuaded him to go and try his luck in Bengal, where a revolution had lately followed the battle of Plassey (June 1757). The last independent Subahdár had fallen, and the British were masters of the situation.

Ahmad, the Abdáli, was by no means the man to put up with the proceedings of the Vazir. The latter had proved himself unworthy of the pardon and favour that had been extended to him the year before, by upsetting all the arrangements then made and oppressing the Emperor and his family, with whom the Afghán chief was now so closely allied. On the other hand Shujää-ud-daula espoused the cause of the fugitive Prince and

joined with Najib-ud-daula : the more readily, seeing that the territories of both were now menaced by the Vazir and his Mahratta associates. Calling on the Rohela Patháns with Najib's aid, and going to their relief with a force of his own, he engaged the Mahrattas. He had two good Mughol officers and also some Gosains, a kind of fighting friars just then coming into employ. By the skill of these leaders the Mahrattas were overthrown in a decisive action ; and Gobind Panth, their leader, only saved his life by a precipitate flight. Many of his people were drowned in crossing the Ganges. The Patháns, who had not joined in these operations, now began to recover courage, and the Viceroy of Audh joined Najib at Sakartál. The news of the approach of the Afgháns, by their old route of the Punjab, accelerated the retreat of the Mahrattas ; and Shujāá-ud-daula returned to Lucknow, which he reached on the 18th January 1760.

But, during this campaign, a tragedy had been enacted at Dehli which displayed the wickedness of Gházi in the strongest light, and ended in his disappearance from public life. Conceiving that his uncle, the former Khán-khánán, was siding with the harmless old Emperor in sympathising with Najib—on whose destruction he was bent—he resolved on putting them both to death. His uncle was apparently a prisoner, and, as such, easily slaughtered. With the Emperor a little more trouble was to be apprehended. Taking advantage of his weak point, the Vazir caused it to be made known that a hermit of prodigious sanctity had taken up his quarters in the ruined palace of Firoz Sháh, some two miles south of the city of New Dehli. The helpless devotee determined to consult the supposed holy man, and repaired to the ruins in a palanquin. Arrived at the door indicated, he found a curtain, which was raised for his

admission. Mirza Bábar, his son-in-law—who had attended him—was made to stay outside. Presently a cry for aid was heard from within; Bábar drew his sword and tried to force his way to the Emperor; but he was disarmed, bound, and sent back to the palace. Meanwhile, the supposed hermit proved to be a savage Uzbek, who, with the aid of three others, sawed off the old man's head with his knife, and threw the corpse out of the window. The headless trunk, stripped of its rich robe, lay on the ground until the Vázir allowed its removal and sepulture. This crime was committed on the 30th November 1759, three days after the murder of the Khánkhánán.

A grandson of Kám Bakhsh, the ill-starred brother of Bahádur Sháh, was then taken out of the Salim-Garh, and proclaimed Emperor; but his name does not occur on the recognised lists. Gházi attempted to carry on some kind of administration behind the screen so raised; but Ali Gauhar, the son of the deceased Emperor, was at once acknowledged as his successor, both by the people of the country and by the Abdáli, who had by this time arrived at his old cantonment of Anupshahr, north-east of the capital. From thence he was able to hold uninterrupted communication with the Rohelas, with Najib, and with the Viceroy at Lucknow.

Gházi, finding his position untenable, at first sought refuge with Suraj Mal, the Ját leader. Hence, as if haunted by the spirits of his victims, he went off, first to Farokhábad, then into the Deccan, always living in poverty and obscurity till discovered, years after, by the British police at Surat. Thence he went—by permission of Warren Hastings—to Mecca; and on his return visited Kábul, where he united himself to a Prince of the Delhi House, in whose company he led a band of free-

booters into the Punjab. The Prince went mad at Multán; and Gházi, leaving him there, wandered into Bundelkhand, where he got a small grant of land, and died—it is believed at Kalpi*—about the year 1800. There is more, perhaps, of what is called “poetical justice” in these obscure and fury-hunted wanderings than in a swifter doom.

About December 1759 the Abdáli reached the capital, which was once more plundered. The heir was a fugitive, the throne was without an occupant. The Mahrattas were practically paramount, save where the Afghán army might be encamped, from the boundaries of the Nizám and Haidar Ali to the frontier of Shujáá-ud-daula, the young Viceroy of Audh. Their actual chief was the Peshwa—the descendant of Siváji being a mere puppet—and their armies were commanded by Sadásheo Rao, commonly called “Bhao,” the cousin and Minister of the Peshwa.

On hearing of the state of affairs at Dehli, the Bhao set out from the Mahratta head-quarters in the Deccan at the head of 20,000 chosen horse. The Peshwa's son, Biswás Rao, destined by the Mahrattas for the throne of Hindustán, accompanied the force as nominal head. The Bhao called in the Mahratta divisions that lay upon his road. He also took with him a corps of infantry, partially imbued with French discipline and commanded by a man of the name of Ibráhim Khán, who had once been a humble follower of the able French officer, M. de Bussy. These men were known as “Gárdis,” and had field-pieces of their own.

The Bhao's northward progress was joined by Mahratta bodies under such leaders as Gobind Pant (whom

* *Vide Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, No. cxxvi. (1879).

we saw expelled from Rohelkhand), Holkar, and Sindhia. Many of the Rájput chiefs also joined, as did Suraj Mal at the head of 20,000 Játs inured to war. It seemed a Hindu league against the long-dominant power of Islám, save that hopes were entertained of the adhesion of the "Persian" party (of which the Viceroy of Audh was head). To the Viceroy an appeal is said to have been made. In the general demoralisation that was now prevalent it was, perhaps, conceivable that the Viceroy might see his way to joining to expel the foreigners; who, though Muslims, were not of his sect. His refusal is recorded in the *Siyar*.

The absence of patriotism and disinterested motive, after an anarchy that had prevailed ever since the death of Bahádur Sháh, just half a century before, does not rest solely on conjecture, or depend for its conception on the unaided efforts of the imagination. It is thus described by a contemporary writer quoted by Colonel Tod, the historian of the Rájputs:—

"The people of Hindustán at this period thought only of personal safety and gratification. Misery was disregarded by those who escaped it; and man, centred solely in self, cared not for his kind. This selfishness, destructive of public as of private virtue, became universal."

Such were the circumstances in which occurred one of those singular international duels which reveal to races the secret of their irreconcilable differences, and show them to one another by the lurid light of hatred and war.

The Bhao had prestige, and even splendour. Up to these times the Mahrattas had been light horse, each trooper carrying food and furniture, marching fifty miles a day, and ready to halt in complete order in the evening.

Now, they moved pompously, like an army of Mughols ; with camp and baggage, guns and musketeers. Holkar and Suraj Mal—old freebooters—shook their heads. Regular warfare was not the game they knew best ; they advised that families, and tents, baggage and heavy equipments, should be left in some impregnable port, like Jhansi or Gwalior, while the cavalry spread over the country, wasting and worrying in the old Mahratta manner. The advice was urged in vain. The Bhao had seen enough of French fighting in the south to value discipline and artillery ; he did not see that to attempt scientific soldiering with the means at his command was to sit upon two stools.

On reaching Dehli, whence the Abdáli had retired to hold easier communication with the Rohelas, the Mahrattas found the citadel, in which the palace stood, tenanted by a Muslim garrison under a nephew of Sháh Wali Khán, the Afghán Vazir. After a brief bombardment the place was taken by escalade (in December 1759), and a sum of seventeen *lakhs* of rupees obtained by tearing down the silver ceiling of the audience-hall and melting down the metal.

The Abdáli leader had fallen back on his cantonment, probably at Anupshahr, where he thought it prudent to remain while he negotiated for the support of Shujáá-ud-da~~u~~^{la}, which he, like the Mahrattas, thought obtainable and worth obtaining. He seems to have been occupied with the Rohelas all the early part of 1760 ; and the rains were at hand, during which military operations would be almost impossible for want of roads and bridges. That would be the best, the latest, opportunity of negotiation. Najib was urgent that Shujáá's co-operation should be obtained at any price. But he pointed out that the negotiation would be too difficult and delicate

to be trusted to letters or to any ordinary envoy. The Sháh's reply was to persuade Najib to undertake the mission himself; and the Rohela chief accordingly waited on the Viceroy in his camp at Mehndi Ghat. His arguments, addressed to the Nawáb with earnestness and skill, were completely successful. Shujāá, after listening carefully to Najib and consulting with his mother, resolved to adopt the cause of Islám. He sent his family to Lucknow and returned with Najib to the camp of the Abdáli, where they were warmly welcomed by the Afghán leader. The camp moved down to Sháhdara.

The Bhao, however, was not yet convinced of the hopelessness of his attempts to secure the aid of the Viceroy. It must be remembered that the Viceroy was a Shia and a hereditary antagonist of the party of "Turán"; a fact which would be known to Mahratta diplomacy. The Viceroy, however, never wavered, though he amused the Bhao with pretences of negotiation. But all the correspondence was conducted with the knowledge of Najib; the Afghán minister was also cognizant of the affair and disposed to grant terms to the Hindus. It was carried on through the agency of Pandit Káshi Ráj—who is our chief authority for the events of the campaign—and who (being himself a Hindu) was willing to believe that war might yet be averted by the expedient of a partition of the country.

In point of fact the only result of these negotiations was to shake the confidence of Suraj Mal, the Ját leader, already distrustful of the Bao's method of warfare, who soon after abandoned the confederacy.

At length arrived the *Dasahra*, a festival that is usually regarded by the Hindus as the end of the rainy season, and a sacred and auspicious day for the com-

ment of a war.* The Bhao now gave the first provocation by cutting up a garrison of Afgháns at Kunjpura, on the Jumna, about eighty miles north of Dehli. The river was still brimming with autumnal floods, but a ford was discovered, when the Abdáli, in hot indignation, threw his forces across at Bághpat, some fifty miles lower down. This took place between the 23rd and 25th October. Many were drowned in crossing. On the afternoon of the 26th a skirmish took place a little to the north of Sonpat, in which the Afghans were ultimately successful. They drove the Mahrattas before them for several days in the direction of Pá nipat. Arrived under the walls of that town the Mahrattas pitched their camp; the Sháh entrenching himself four miles to the southward. In this position the two armies lay for the next two months, during which constant fighting went on, always to the disadvantage of the Mahrattas, who were at last shut up in their lines, where they were closely blockaded and soon deprived of the means of subsistence. Nothing remained for them but to sally forth and cut their way through, or die.

The Afghan army consisted of 28,000 heavy cavalry, about an equal number of Indian horse, 38,000 Hindustáni infantry—matchlockmen and pikes—with eighty heavy guns. The Hindus had more cavalry and artillery, a total muster of 200,000 men with 200 guns. It was now about the 13th January 1761; and the Bhao, after a midnight council, sent off a last mission to Shujáá, offering to accept any conditions that might be obtainable. No answer came; and at daybreak the Mahrattas, having eaten their last rations, issued from their lines

* It is the day on which the attack on Lanka by the demigod Ráma is believed to have been made.

with turbans unbound, their faces smeared with turmeric, as devotees of death.

They marched in an oblique line, with their left thrown forward, and their guns in advance. The Bhao was in the centre, with the Peshwa's son and the household troops. The extreme right was formed of cavalry, under Holkar and Sindhia—the Játs having retired. The *gardis*, under Ibrahim Khán, formed the left wing, thrown forward, as has been stated, but with a couple of battalions bent back. On the other side, the Afgháns formed a somewhat similar line, of which the part opposed to Holkar and Sindhia consisted of Najib's Rohelas, the left centre being heavy horse under the Viceroy of Audh and Sháh Wali, the Afghán Minister. On the right centre more Rohelas, under Háfiz Rahmat and other Pathán leaders. The right, two Persian brigades composing it, faced Ibrahim. The Afghán artillery did not come into action, and the guns of the enemy, losing range as the armies rapidly approached each other, did but little execution. Sháh Pasand, Chief of the Staff, covered the left wing of the Afgháns with a choice body of cuirassiers; a mile to the right rear Háji Jamál Khán, Barukzai, was stationed with a reserve to act under the immediate orders of the Sovereign, who sate in a little tent, on an eminence, to survey the field.

Ibrahim led on his *gardis* in the formation above described, carrying their colours in his own hand, but without firing a shot. The Persian cavalry were powerless before his serried ranks and half-square line. With fixed bayonets he turned on the columns of the Rohelas, with such effect that 8,000 of them were soon *hors de combat*. For three hours this imperfect shadow of French discipline maintained possession of that portion of the field. Shujáá was paralysed, neither fleeing nor fighting.

The corps between him and the Rohelas was that of the Afghán minister Sháh Wali ; and he was sorely pressed, and sent to ask Shujáá for aid. The Pandit above mentioned went to see how Sháh Wali was faring, and heard him, through the dust-cloud, addressing his men in the language of Bábar more than two hundred years before : “ Whither would you run, my friends ? Your country is far from here.”

Meanwhile, the sagacious Najib had recourse to the unusual expedient of raising earthworks on a field of battle. He was heard to say that “ he, at least, could not afford to make any mistakes that day.” Till noon he remained on the defensive, keeping off the attacks of Sindhia’s horse by discharges of rockets. But the Mah-rattas were, on the whole, prevailing. The Muslim left still kept together, but their centre was cut and their right withered. The Sháh watched anxiously from his tent. The Hindu cries of *Har ! Har ! Jai Mahadeo !** were borne to him on the breeze, mingled with those of *Allah ! Din !* from his own side. Many of his men were in full flight. He saw the critical moment in the very act of passing ; and he seized it like a good commander. Sending part of his own body-guard to camp, with orders to drive into the fight all able-bodied men found there, he despatched a still stronger party to meet those who were flying and cut them down if they would not return to battle. These, with 4,000 of Jamál’s reserve, went to support the broken ranks of the Rohela Patháns. The remainder of the reserve were sent to the aid of Sháh Wali, still labouring in the centre of the field. These mailed horsemen were to charge continually in close order, while the Chief of the Staff and Najib were directed to fall simultaneously on either flank.

* The respective invocations of Vishnavite and Shivite.

These movements began about 1 P.M. The fight was close and obstinate, men engaging hand-to-hand with spears, sabres, axes, and even daggers. Between 2 and 3 the Peshwa's son was wounded; and, having fallen from his horse, was mounted on an elephant. Soon after he was shot dead. The Bhão disappeared about the same time: presently Holkar and the Gaikwár left the field. Next moment all resistance ceased, and fighting yielded to butchery. Thousands were cut down, other thousands were drowned in escaping, or were slaughtered by the peasantry whom they had been so long pillaging. Forty thousand prisoners are said to have been killed. Jankaji, then head of the Sindhia family, was put to death next day. Ibrahim Gardi died of his wounds. A headless body, believed to be that of the Bhao, was found some twenty miles off; it received, with that of the Peshwa's son, the honours of Hindu cremation at the request of Shujáá-ud-daula.

The allies then marched to Dehli, whence Shujáá returned to his own country, with the titular post of Vazir of the Empire. The Sháh wrote to the fugitive Prince Ali Gauhar—who had assumed the title of Sháh 'Alam—and saluted him as Emperor. He then departed, leaving Najib—with the appointment of Captain-General—in charge of the capital, a son of the absent Emperor being nominally Regent.

Once more the old saying was borne to mind :

Bádsháhi Sháh 'A'lam
Az Dihli tá Pálam.

And it was a singular coincidence that the new landless Emperor took the very title suggested by these verses.

NOTE.—The account of the campaign of Pá nipat is derived from a comparison of Grant Duff's *History of the*

Mahrattas with the account of Pandit Káshi Ráj, cited by Elphinstone, and remarkable as a narrative of fighting by a Hindu civilian who kept his head clear throughout. Reference has also been made to the story told by Muhamad Jáfar Shamlu, translated in Dowson, vol. viii. p. 145. This writer is neither so accurate nor so graphic as the others, though he twice cautions the reader against believing any account but his. The battle was, indirectly at least, a decisive one; had the Hindus prevailed there might have been now no British Empire in India, but a state of things more resembling what still exists in China.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INTERREGNUM.—NAJIB AND THE JÁTS.

A.D. 1761^c-71.

FOR the next ten years the Empire was held on a sort of commission, by the Regent and Najib-ud-daula, and the Sikhs were having it all their own way in the Punjáb. The Eastern Provinces were the scene of the most important events. There was a constant progress towards paramount power on the side of the English traders in Bengal; and the fortunes of the Emperor, and of Hindustan in general, became more and more dependent on those active and audacious intruders. The author of the *Siyar* was an intelligent witness of a portion of these transactions, other parts have been related by Muhamad Ali Khán, Ansári, and by some of the writers translated in Dowson. European contemporary observers likewise begin to appear, as will be more fully noticed hereafter.

The first authentic introduction of the British into Dehli politics is, perhaps, due here. It is stated in Mr. Gleig's *Life of Clive* that Prince Ali Gauhar, on first escaping from Dehli, had applied to Clive for an asylum in Calcutta; while the Colonel, at the same time, received a despatch from Gházi-ud-din, calling upon him to arrest the Prince as a rebel, and forward him to Court in custody. Clive attended to neither

request, but sent the Prince a small sum of money. And he wrote to Lord Chatham—then Prime Minister of Great Britain, and as yet only known as “Mr. Pitt,”—begging his attention to the case. What Clive suggested came to this, that the King of Great Britain, George III., should apply to be declared Viceroy of the Empire for Bahár, Bengal, and Orissa. The application, he felt sure, would be granted on a guarantee to remit punctually 20 per cent of the revenues; the more so, he said, that the Indians felt little regard for particular princes. This letter is dated 7th January 1759. These things show that the British power began to make itself felt as a factor in the politics of Hindustán very soon after the revolution in Bengal that followed close upon the battle of Plassey. The Viceroy of Audh, too, besides being hereditary Vazir, was an important element, in virtue of his own prestige and power. This Nawáb, as we have seen, was Safdar Jang’s son, and superior to his father as a soldier, while he equalled him in general ability and force of character. On first succeeding to his father’s almost independent principality in 1754 he was a young man of twenty-three, and content with the means he found of indulging those bodily faculties which belonged to his age and constitution. He was above the ordinary stature of mankind, handsome of body and acute of mind, though hardly ripe for the deliberations of statesmanship. But the stirring events in which he presently became a participant must have rapidly matured a nature by no means unsuited for that tortuous pursuit of one’s own immediate interest which—in the East even more than elsewhere—passes for statecraft. His conduct in the Rohelkhand business had presented an appearance of frankness which came to nothing in the light of his

subsequent treatment of the people of that country. When the Heir Apparent came to him in 1759 he was polite, but abstained from doing anything beyond accrediting him to his agent at Allahabad; and it was owing to his relations with that officer that the Prince took no part in the successful effort of the Muslims aided by the Afgháns at Pánipat.

The officer in question was a first cousin of the Viceroy of Audh, named Muhamad Kuli Khán. To him, on arriving at Allahabad, the Prince exhibited a patent from his father by which he was appointed Subahdár, or Viceroy, of Bahár, Bengal, and Orissa, recently held by the usurping dynasty of Ala Wirdi Khán, and now governed by a British-made Nawáb. Shujáá—who, for reasons of his own, was well disposed to see the Prince embarked in such an adventure—warmly recommended him to his cousin and agent; and the latter, a man of spirit and ambition, willingly lent his aid to an expedition in which it was hoped that the Eastern Provinces might be rallied to the Imperial standard, and both Clive and his Nawáb reduced to their proper level. Thus supported, the Prince crossed the Karmnása—the frontier-stream—in November 1759, just at the time of his father's murder related in the last chapter.

In the distracted state of the country it was more than a month before the news of this tragedy arrived in the Prince's camp, which was then pitched at a village called Kanauti, in Bahár. The Prince assumed the succession, with the title of Sháh 'Alam, or "King of the Known World," ignoring—perhaps not knowing—the inauspicious doggerel attaching to it. He was at once recognised by all parties, and Shujáá was confirmed in the office of Vazir. The Emperor was at this time in

the thirty-third year of his age, having been born 15th June 1728, during the reign of Muhamad Sháh, and brought up without any expectation of the rank to which fortune was to bring him. Like many of his race he was brave, patient, dignified, and merciful; with literary tastes. The poetry which he wrote—and of which a specimen will be seen hereafter—is still esteemed.

But all contemporary records show that he was deficient in the qualities required by the very trying circumstances in which he found himself. His courage was rather of the enduring than of the enterprising kind, though boldness was absolutely essential in his situation. His patience and clemency led him to forget as well as to forgive, and to lend ear and hand to any person of stronger will who was nearest to him at the moment of action.

The provinces that this Prince had invaded were held by the nominee of the British, Ali Jáfár Khán, known in our histories as “Meer Jaffier.” This nobleman, who had been an officer in the service of the last of the Ala Wírdi dynasty (and his kinsman), had been raised to the Nawábship by Clive in July 1757; and, on hearing of the invasion, sent to Calcutta for assistance, and directed his deputy in Bahar to hold out as best he could. The deputy was a Hindu named Rám Narain; he was defeated with loss, and driven to take shelter in Patna.

The Nawáb's main army, having been joined by a small British contingent, encountered the Emperor on the 15th February 1760. Worstèd in the encounter, the Emperor conceived the plan of a flank march, by which, without attempting Patna, he should cut the Bengal troops off from their capital, Murshidábád, and possess himself of it before they could arrive. But the activity of his opponents was greater than his. They

came up with him on the 7th of April and gave him another check. Being soon after joined by a small body of French under Law, the Emperor resolved to establish himself in Bahár and set about the siege of Patna.

Law was either son or nephew of the famous John Law of "Mississippi-scheme" notoriety, and had been for some time an officer in the French army, serving against the British establishment of Madras. In Colonel Malle-son's works on these transactions* we are presented with a graphic account of his doings there; and the author has well shown the extraordinary weaknesses which clouded an otherwise chivalrous career. Deputed to Bengal about 1757, he became chief of the French factory at Kásimbazar. When Chandernagore was taken by the British some of the French officers, refusing to join in the capitulation, went out of the town on the landward side with about fifty European soldiers and twenty sepoy, and proceeded to place themselves under the orders of Law. Kásimbazar being presently threatened by Clive, Law was supplied by the falling Nawáb, Siráj-ud-daula, with arms and money, and sent into Bahár. He was thus prevented from taking part in the battle of Plassey; and on hearing of that event he went with his men to join Rám Narain at Patna. After some desultory wandering he now placed his sword at the disposal of the new Emperor. "So far as I can see," he observed to the author of the *Siyar*, "there is nothing worthy of the name of 'government' between this and Dehli. If men in the position of Shujáá-ud-daula would loyally join me, I would not only beat off the British, but would restore the administration of the Empire."

* *Clive and Decisive Battles of India.*

But this ambitious programme was not to be even begun. The British were never to be beaten off; and when the Emperor was restored it was not by the instrumentality of the enterprising Frenchman. A hundred French soldiers led by Law made, nevertheless, a valuable reinforcement; and the siege of Patna was pushed vigorously with their aid. But Captain Knox, at the head of a detachment of infantry, ran across the 300 miles between Murshidábád and Patna in the space of thirteen days. He fell suddenly upon the Imperialists, whom he routed and drove south towards Gáya.

They were now commanded by a Mughol officer named Kámgar Khán; for Muhamad Kuli had returned to Allahabad, where he was soon after put to death by his unscrupulous cousin Shujáá, who suspected him of aiming at independence. The Emperor attempted to raise the country, and was joined by a second Mughol leader named Khádim Husain. Thus reinforced he once more marched on Patna, to be again defeated. He then retired northward, pursued by the British and Bengali forces. In March 1761 they experienced a full and final overthrow at Suán, near the city of Bahár, on which occasion Law was taken, in the dramatic way described in the *Siyar*, which has been made a classical story by Macaulay and Mill.

Next morning Carnac, the British commander, paid his respects to the Emperor, who was weary of the hopeless struggle which for nearly a year and a half he had with such creditable energy maintained. The jealousy of Mir Kásim prevented the restoration at that moment; that nobleman had been recently substituted for Mir Jáfar, as nominal ruler of Bengal, by the British, and was enabled to make his own terms. Sháh 'Álam confirmed him as Nawáb, but departed to seek an

asylum with the Viceroy of Audh, on a guarantee of a subsidy of £240,000 a year from the revenues of the three provinces. In spite of a strong recommendation from the British, the Viceroy refused to allow the Emperor to return to Dehli, and detained him in honourable durance for some two years, sometimes at Allahabad, sometimes at Benares, and sometimes at Lucknow.

In the meanwhile the new Nawáb, Mir Kásim, became refractory, and after some trouble—in the course of which a number of English prisoners were massacred at Patna, in October 1763, in retaliation for the destruction of Kásim's army by the heroic Adams at Undwa Nála—Kásim found himself beleaguered in Patna. The place was taken by storm in November, and Kásim had no alternative but to fly to the protection of the Audh Viceroy, whose policy was not yet definitely declared. We have seen that the Viceroy was not less selfish than other public men of his class. But he had his ideal of hospitality; he had also his views of the use to which the wealthy fugitive, with trained battalions in his employ, might be put. He first utilised Kásim and his followers in a campaign against the Rájputs of Bundelkhand, who had invaded his province; and then, when the British forces appeared upon his border in February 1764, he turned a deaf ear to all the demands that were made to induce him to surrender his guest.

Adams had been forced to resign his command by failing health; and Colonel Carnac, his successor, found himself thwarted in immediate action by the disaffection of his sepoy, tampered with by emissaries of the energetic Kásim, and supported by discontents among the Europeans, of whom many were French. Profiting by the delay and confusion of the enemy, the Viceroy and

Kásim took the initiative, invaded Bahár, and made a vehement attack upon Patna. The united forces were forty thousand strong, horse, foot, and artillery; and twelve thousand of them were regular infantry, with some European leaders, notably a Frenchman named Médoc, and the celebrated Samru. This latter was a Westphalian, whose real name was Walter Reinhardt; and his aid and co-operation had been felt in the recent massacre; we shall hear of him again.

On the 2nd of May the Viceroy, after a strenuous attack, in which he was but ill-supported by Kásim and Samru, was repulsed, though not pursued, and before the end of the month was led to retire in disgust, and to fall back upon Buxar. He had probably had nearly enough of his incompetent guests, who left him to do all the fighting, even though that fighting was, primarily at least, in their behalf. The Emperor being no less weary of the contest, and the British hampered by the mutinous spirit of their troops, negotiations were easily opened. But, before any conclusion could be reached, Carnac was superseded by Hector Munro, whose vigorous conduct soon changed the aspect of affairs.

Blowing from guns twenty-four of the more mutinous among the sepoy—the disaffected Europeans had already deserted—Munro marched his now submissive army to Buxar, near the confluence of the Karmanása and the Ganges, where the Imperialists awaited their approach.

Here the Emperor and Kásim were joined by the Viceroy, but the Emperor took no personal share in the action which ensued. On the 23rd October 1764 the allies were totally defeated, as will be found related in Broome's *Bengal Army*, Malleon's *Decisive Battles*, and other standard historical works. The Viceroy with-

drew his forces in good order ; though it was not till some time after that, accepting the situation, he allied himself permanently with the conquerors. The Emperor, for his part, yielded much more promptly ; coming the very next day into the British camp, and concluding a treaty whereby the conquerors for the first time attained a legal position in the country. They acquired, that is to say, the Diwánsnip—or civil administration and revenues of the three Provinces—with a further grant of the countries of Gházipur and Benares as tenants-in-chief of the Empire. The remainder of the province of Allahabad was secured to the Emperor himself, together with a “yearly offering,” which raised his civil list to a sum equivalent to a million sterling. For the present the Audh Viceroy took refuge at Bareilly, where he called on the Patháns of Rohelkhand and Holkar’s Mahrattas, in order to defend his territories against the advancing British. Kásim and Samru, whose untrustworthiness had been proved, and on whose heads a price was set, were refused any further assistance or asylum ; the former fled towards Dehli, the latter entered the service of the Bhurtpore Jats. Carnac, who had recovered his command, gave the Nawáb and his allies a final overthrow near Cawnpore, and drove the Mahrattas away to the southward. The Viceroy now gave his adhesion to the treaty of Buxar, and was guaranteed the possession of Audh and a portion of the Dúáb—or Antarbed, as it was then called. Of the condition of that country, the backbone of Hindustán, we have but scanty information. It appears, however, that the administration was roughly divided among various Muslim powers, professedly subordinate to the Empire, who agreed in regarding the Mahrattas as foreign and common enemies, to be kept out as completely as pos-

sible. Najib held the districts of Dehli and Agra, so far as the Jâts could be made to respect his authority. The Bangash Patháns of Farokhábad held some of the central districts ; the country lower down was under the Viceroy ; at Allahabad the Emperor bore some restricted sway. About this time appears the first notice of the contrast between Asiatic and European administration in India. "The British had now control of the whole of the conquered provinces ; but they did not kill or plunder : nor did the freeholders or pensioners find reason to complain " (*q.d.* of confiscation.) Murtaza Hosain ap. Dowson, vol. viii. p. 182. Shah 'Alam's position has been thus described by a British officer who enjoyed his intimacy, and who wrote about the year 1767 :—

"He keeps the poor resemblance of a Court at Allahabad, where a few ruined *omrahs* (Lords), in hope of better days to their prince, having expended their fortunes in his service, still exist—the ragged pensioners of his bounty—and burden his gratitude with their presence. The districts in the King's possession are valued at thirty *lakhs*, which is one half more than they are able to bear. Instead of gaining by this bad policy, that prince, unfortunate in many respects, has the misfortune to see his poor subjects oppressed by those who farm the revenue, while he himself is obliged to compound with the farmers for half the stipulated sum. This, with the treaty payment from the revenues of Bengal, is all that Shah Alum possesses to support the dignity of the Imperial house of Timor." [Dow, vol. ii. p. 356.]

Elsewhere the same author, quoting from a native authority, and, perhaps, giving something from his own experience :—

"The country was torn to pieces by civil wars, and

groaned under every species of domestic confusion. Villainy was practised in every form ; all law and religion were trodden under foot, the bonds of private friendship and connection, as well as of society and government, were broken ; and every individual, as if amidst a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm."

Of the persons who formed the Court we get a more detailed view in the *Siyar* than anywhere else. First in rank was Saádat Ali Khán, a young son of the Audh Viceroy, and by him deputed to carry on the duties of Vazir. Next came Mirza Najaf Khán, a Persian noble of high—even of royal—extraction, who was destined to play a yet more conspicuous part. Originally a follower of Muhamad Kuli, he sought shelter with the British when, as above related, his patron was put to death by the Viceroy. He ingratiated himself with the new power, and was recommended to the favour of the Emperor and guaranteed a stipend of one *lakh* of rupees, say £10,000 per annum. He was presently nominated Governor of Kora, somewhat corresponding to the modern district of Fatehpur ; and there he occupied himself in suppressing Dacoits and establishing authority. Manir-ud-daula was confidential agent, employed for the most part in representing his master at Calcutta. Rája Rám Náth, who had shared the Prince's escape from Dehli, continued in attendance ; but the chief favourite was an illiterate rascal, called by the title of Hisám-ud-daula, who stooped to any baseness whereby he could pander to the lowest pursuits of the self-indulgent monarch.

Fallen as the monarchy was, and much as we may sympathise with a gallant prince sinking into indolence and vice for want of a proper sphere of action, we may

yet suspect that he was happier in the humble but secure position of a pensioned and protected titular than when, later on, he yielded to the self-interested promptings of such an associate and resumed the throne of his ancestors.

It is now time to turn to Dehli and see what had been going on, since the departure of the Abdáli, in the almost paralysed heart of the Empire of Hindustán.

The battle of Pánipat had broken the power of the Mahrattas, and had probably prevented the formation of anything like a Hindu Empire or confederation. But the Hindus, though to disunite them is never difficult, are like some ill-organized animals, whose severed parts possess an almost indestructible vitality. There were now—without counting the southern part of the peninsula—four of these powers in Upper India alone: the Mahrattas, checked but not destroyed; the Rájputs, proud but insolent; the Játs of the country round Agra and Dehli; and their congeners of the Punjáb, mostly held together by the religious freemasonry of Sikhism.

Of the former two tribes we have already seen very much. Of the Játs and Sikhs it remains to give a few particulars.

The origin of the Játs is a difficult subject, into the details of which we need not enter. They are believed to be descendants of the “Getæ” of the Greeks, the “Yue-tchi” of the Chinese, who aided in the overthrow of the Græco-Bactrian power, and settled in Northern Afghánistán before the era of Christ. In that case they would seem to come of an Aryan origin, akin to the early Hindus. In the chronicles of the Arab invasions of Sindh, in the first centuries of the *Hijri* era, we find them in Beluchistan, and along

the course of the Indus. By the time that Amir Taimur—or Tamerlane—came to invade Hindustán they had spread as far as Bhatíána, where he found a tribe under that name who were, according to the conqueror's testimony, "Musalmáns in name only, who had not their equals in theft and highway robbery." In the reign of Alamgir I. (Aurangzeb) they are heard of as far as Agra and Bhurtpore, still famous for similar habits. Farther to the north and west they coalesced about this time with the Khátrís of the Punjab to form the nucleus of the Sikh fraternity. In 1684 a campaign was organized against the southern Játs, their headquarters being then at Sánsani, a fort between Dig and Kumbher; and a second expedition took place seven years later, but no success appears to have followed. The Zemindar of Sánsani left behind him, about this time, a son named Churáman, who is to be noticed as being at once the founder of Bhurtpore as a power, and the father of its present princely house. Churáman was killed in the battle between Muhamad Sháh and Sáýid Abdulla in 1720. His grandson, Suraj Mal, has been already mentioned as joining and abandoning the expedition of the Mahrattas before the battle of Pánipat, and he was now the able and prosperous leader of the Bhurtpore branch of the Játs. Their Sikh brethren in the Punjab, in the meantime, were rapidly crystallising into a nation, and had established a kingdom at Lahore in open defiance of the Abdáli power.

It need only be added that, whether in the one neighbourhood or in the other, the Játs were—as they still are—stout yeomen, able to cultivate their fields, and, on occasion, to fight for them; with strong administrative tendencies of a somewhat republican stamp. Within half a century they four times tried conclusions

with the British in India. The Játs of Bhurtpore resisted Lake with success, and Combermere with credit. Their Sikh kinsfolk in the Punjab shook the Empire in 1845, and three years later fought with equally alarming tenacity at Multán and Chiliánwála. The Sikh power is at an end, but there are still thriving Ját principalities at Bhurtpore and Dholpore, formerly Gohad.

At the time with which we are now concerned the Sikhs were becoming very powerful. By the aid of Adina Beg—a Hindu by birth—they had risen from the depression into which they had fallen after the death of the Guru Banda in 1715.

When Ahmad the Abdáli made his seventh and last descent upon the Punjab in 1767 the Sikhs evacuated Lahore and fell back upon Cashmere; but the Abdáli was recalled by troubles in Khorasán; and the Sikhs recovered and increased their power; so that by 1781—when the author of the *Siyar* notices them—their power in the Punjab was fixed and general.

Nor were the Ját tribes of the country lower down less prosperous. At Dehli, indeed, Najib-ud-daula was establishing himself with great prudence and growing strength. The Mahratta collectors had, for the moment, been expelled from all the Upper Duáb, and Holkar was finally driven across the Ganges, near Cawnpore, in 1765, as already mentioned. Nevertheless, the power of Suraj Mal was as irksome to the Regency, especially when, by corrupting the Mughol Governor, the Ját chief had possessed himself of the fortified palace of Agra, with the great and busy town which it commands. About the same time Suraj Mal also obtained possession of several strong places in the Mewát country south-west of Dehli, and began to cast his eyes on the rich tracts

in the valley of the Upper Jumna. He was at the very zenith of his prosperity; universally-esteemed, wealthy and powerful, with four of the strongest fortresses in that part of India, a trained army of twelve thousand mounted marksmen, and a pride and ambition that were beginning to overweigh the bucolic sagacity which had always actuated his earlier career.

In the cold season of 1763-4 this formidable leader attacked the Biluch colony of Farokhnagar and Bahádargarh, immediately bordering on the Crown lands of Dehli. The Biluch chiefs in those days held both banks of the Jumna from Hansi to Saharanpur and Karnál, and Najib was naturally indisposed to yield to a Hindu—however powerful—territories held by Muslims. Unwilling, however, to break abruptly with the Ját chief, the Minister—while collecting his forces as well as he was able—resolved to try the effect of negotiation. His envoy opened the interview by the presentation of a costly piece of flowered Multán chintz, with which the rural potentate was much pleased, and ordered it to be immediately made up into a coat for his own wearing. Seeing him profoundly occupied with this puerile interest, the envoy rose to take leave, hoping to renew the discussion of terms of peace at a more favourable moment. “Do nothing rashly,” said he, “but let us meet again to-morrow.” “If peace be your object,” replied the Ját, “you need not take the trouble to come again.” The Mughol retired, and related what had occurred to Najib. “Is it so?” said the Minister; “then we must fight the uncircumcised one; and, by God’s help, we will assuredly destroy him.”

But before the main body of the Mughol army had got clear of the city Suraj Mal, who had less distance to traverse and was all for fighting, had already crossed

the river, and next morning reached Sháhdara, an old hunting-ground of the Crown, between Dehli and the river Hindan. The spot was not far from the scene of the first defeat of the insurgents in 1857. On his arrival, leaving his main body on the Hindan, Suraj Mal rode forward with some of his Staff. While he was reconnoitring in an unguarded fashion, a squadron of Mughol horse rode by, flying before a body of the Játs by whom they had been worsted in a skirmish. Seeing a distinguished group of the enemy before them, they attacked and overpowered the Ját leader. In the first attack he lost his arm, which the troopers, having killed him and driven off his companions, carried into the Minister's camp. Here it was identified by the envoy of the previous day from the sleeve being made of the chintz that he had so lately presented. Meanwhile, the Ját army was marching slowly up, under Jawáhir Singh, Suraj Mal's eldest son, when they were suddenly charged by the Mughol cavalry, with the deceased Thákur's arm borne on high as a standard upon the lance of a horseman. The sight of this ghastly trophy intimidated the Játs, and Najib was enabled to draw off his forces and retire into the city walls. After a faint attempt at a siege the Játs agreed to terms, and went back into their own country.

Soon after this event Jawáhir Singh, who had succeeded to his father's power, received a formidable accession of strength. We have seen that Reinhardt—"Samru Gárdi," as he is known to native writers—had left his former employer, Kásim, when the latter was abandoned by the Audh Viceroy soon after the battle of Buxar. He now entered the Ját service with a French officer named Médoc, some sepoys, and a number of European deserters; altogether constituting a small

brigade of infantry with field-guns. Besides taking these adventurers into his pay, Jawáhir entered into an alliance with Holkar, who, however, was insincere and brought him no help. Nor was Samru much more useful. After an unsuccessful attack on Jaipur, the Játs fell back on the lake of Pushkar (or Pokar), near Ajmere, where they were utterly routed by the Rájputs. Samru and his brigade, deserting the losing cause, joined the victorious Rajputs, and Jawáhir retreated to Agra, where he was presently assassinated. A period of confusion in the Ját State was followed by the successive murder of two of the late Thákur's brothers; but the fourth of Suraj Mal's sons—Ranjit Singh—proved a stronger or more fortunate ruler, and his management gradually restored the falling fortunes of the principality. In 1767 the Ját dominions—as we are informed by Dow—extended from Agra to Alwar (inclusive of both cities), with a revenue of two millions sterling, and an army of sixty thousand men.

At the same time Najib, as Minister-in-Charge, was slowly forming the metropolis and its adjacent lands into a small but compact State. The author of the *Siyar*—a Shia—grudgingly allows that he was a man of merit; and, “though an Afghán, was attached to the rules of justice, and one who studied the repose and welfare of God's creatures.” But his followers were rough and grasping, and the people endured unspeakable violence and extortion at their hands. Their treatment could not, he says, be described with any regard to decency, nor would the description serve any purpose; “the sufferers have suffered, and what is past is past.” The Sikhs, too, began to assume a threatening aspect; and it was then that the Abdáli felt himself called on to make that last incursion to which

reference has already been made. Driving the Sikhs into the hills, he overran the Punjab in 1767, and marched as far as Pánipat, whence he addressed a sharp letter of remonstrance to Shujáá-ud-daula for his neglect of the cause of the refugee Emperor.

On the Abdáli's departure the Mahrattas renewed the trouble of Hindustan. Penetrating as far as Jaipur they laid waste the country in 1768 ; then, after ravaging the Bhurtpore territory, they threatened Dehli. Among their leaders were two of whom we shall see more hereafter. One was Mahdaji Sindhia ; the other Takuji Holkar ; one a follower of Malhar Rao Holkar, who had lately died, and who—like his master—was friendly to the Pathans ; the other a natural son of Ranoji Sindhia, whose hostility to that tribe he had inherited. Thus, with the hereditary rivalry of their respective clans, these two remarkable men were destined in some degree to adopt an adverse policy which weakened the Mahratta cause, not only in the impending campaign, but in many others. Both, it need hardly be added, founded States which are still extant and powerful.

The first result was that Holkar aided the Dehli Government to enter into an accommodation with the invaders, in which the Játs were sacrificed, and the Mahrattas were allowed to occupy the central districts of the Duáb hitherto held by the Rohelas. Soon after the conclusion of this arrangement—in October 1770—Najib-ud-daula died, at Najibábád, whither he had removed for the benefit of his health. His position at Dehli was assumed by his eldest son, Zábita Khán, who inherited some of his ability but none of his virtues. The character of Najib was warmly recognised during his lifetime by Mr. Vansittart, the British ruler of

Bengal, who wrote that he was "the only example in Hindustan of a character at once good and great."*

At the time of his death the Rohela power generally had been brought very low. Dundi Khán, the early patron and father-in-law of Najib, died about the same time, having been compelled to acquiesce in the cession of the Dúáb districts to the Mahrattas; and the last survivor of the old chiefs, Hafiz Rahmat, was left alone as Protector of a number of minor princes and a confederation growing daily weaker and more disunited.

The Emperor, Sháh 'Alam, was by this time tired of the provincial pleasures of Allahábád; and the death of Najib seemed to open the way for an easy position on his ancestral throne at Dehli. We have seen that he was not altogether happy in the choice of his associates; but the British representative who resided at his Court appears to have been constantly employed in pointing out the difficulties and dangers to be encountered in carrying out the plans which these associates were constantly suggesting. It is said that the leading men of Dehli society, too, were very weary of the Patháns, and saw in the return of an easy-tempered Mughol monarch a prospect of relief from Rohela ruffianism, and a chance of sharing in the loaves and fishes of public life. The British, seeing that the Emperor's mind was determined by these influences, withdrew their opposition. The consent of the Mahrattas was obtained, or anticipated; and the Audh Viceroy, though strongly opposed to the project, was unable to oppose it single-handed.

Other inducements were not wanting to give a colour of public policy to what was, perhaps, a plan originating in more frivolous considerations. The new *Amir-ul-*

* Despatch to Court of Directors, dated 28th March 1768.

Amra, Zábita Khán, withheld the payment of the tribute which the Emperor had always received from Najib ; and it is said that he even failed in respect towards the ladies of the Imperial family. Nor was he able to resist the Mahrattas, who, after occupying a great part of Rohelkhand, proceeded to invade the Upper Dúáb. At length, in the beginning of 1771, they entered the metropolis, only respecting the palace where the Prince Regent and the members of the Imperial family continued to reside. Zábita, having organized no plan, could offer no resistance, and retired to his northern possessions, conniving—as Grant Duff supposes—with Tukaji Holkar for direct negotiation between Sháh 'Alam and the chiefs of the Mahrattas.

About this time the Emperor lost the services of Manir-ud-din, who had been his faithful and able agent in Calcutta. Manir died at Benares in 1771, and was buried at Patna. Mirza Najaf Khán, however, followed his master ; and Shujáá, the Viceroy-Vazir, accompanied the Court for several marches, trying vainly to dissuade the Sovereign from his hazardous and ill-omened undertaking.

The Emperor was accompanied by a small but compact force, consisting of his body-guard of Mughol *Ahdís* and men-at-arms, and a strong battalion of regular infantry commanded by the French adventurer, Médoc, who has been mentioned as a comrade of Reinhardt, or Samru. Mirza Najaf Khán was the general leader. Sir Robert Barker, a General officer in the British service, escorted the party as far as the boundary of the Allahabad province ; which, from the day of the Emperor's leaving it, became practically a British possession. Arrived at the frontier Sir Robert took his leave, with reiterated good wishes and counsels to the

Emperor to be guided in all things by the advice of Najaf Khán.

The Audh Viceroy, as Vazir of the Empire, remained in attendance for some few marches farther, accompanying the *cortège* as far as Farokhábad. Here they found that Ahmad Khán, the Bangash Pathán Prince, had just died; and here, acting on the advice of the Viceroy-Vazir, the Emperor made the first exercise of his restored authority. He recognised the succession of the deceased chief's son as holder of the fief, receiving in return the substantial acknowledgment of a fine of five *lakhs* of rupees. The camp then halted to await the conclusion of the periodical rains of 1771.

NOTE.—The chief authorities for this chapter have been the *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin* and the *Tarikh-i-Muzafari*, both written by Muslim noblemen of the highest standing, who were eye-witnesses of what they relate. Hamilton's *History of the Rohillas* is a valuable compendium of contemporaneous memoirs regarding Rohelkhand. Grant Duff is the standard and indispensable guide to Mahratta transactions—which, however, I systematically exclude whenever they do not bear directly upon affairs of Hindustán; the Deccan forming a subject too vast and complicated to be mixed up with a special department such as is here undertaken. Broome's *Bengal Army* (of which the accomplished writer only completed the first volume) is a work of unsurpassed accuracy and value for all that comes within its scope.

It may be added that M. Law returned to France after the battle of Suán, and his son became a famous cavalry general under Napoleon I. The family is still represented by the Marquis de Lauriston.

CHAPTER VII.

NAJAF KHÁN'S MINISTRY. A.D. 1772-82.

It has already been mentioned that Mirza Najaf was of the Royal House of Persia (the Safavi dynasty), who had been a client of the Governor of Allahabad, put to death by his cousin the Viceroy of Audh. The Mirza had made friends with the British authorities, and on their recommendation had served the exiled Emperor during the temporary residence at Allahabad. He was now in command of the little army with which Sháh 'Ala'm advanced from Farokhábad in the end of the year 1771, and entered the capital of his fathers on the 25th December of that year.

It was only natural that the Sháh should have soon found himself inconvenienced by the jealousies which immediately rose between the Mirza and the chiefs of the Mahrattas who were still at Dehli. For the moment, however, these feelings were held somewhat in abeyance by the necessity for immediate action. The first enemy whom the Mahrattas desired to crush was Zábíta Khán, the son of their old antagonist the deceased Najib-ud-daula, who had retired to his estates at the head of the Duáb and placed himself in communication and alliance with the Patháns of Rohelkhand, with whom he was connected by blood.

Zábita had three strongholds within his fief—which included the modern districts of Bijnaur, Muzafarnagar and Saháranpur. To the north Pathargarh—the citadel of his father's town of Najibábád—gave him a position in Upper Rohelkhand. On the Ganges he possessed the fortress of Sakhartál, commanding the Road from Najibábád to the upper Duáb. On the west, in the very centre of the whole country, was Ghausgarh, which Zábita had built lately, and whose site is still marked by a mosque of great size. It was hurriedly evacuated on the approach of the enemy, as, soon after, was Sakhartál; abandoning his first line, Zábita fell back on Pathargarh, as nearest to any help that the Rohela Patháns might be willing and able to lend. But they were paralysed by the menacing attitude of the Viceroy of Audh, who was already preparing for the annexation of their country. The combined Mughol and Mahratta forces crossed the Ganges, and Zábita fled for refuge to the Játs, leaving his family to fall into the hands of the enemy, together with the greater part of the treasure that his father had amassed. It is on this occasion that Zábita's son, Ghulám Kádir, is believed to have undergone the mutilation for which he was in after years to take so fearful a revenge.

At the approach of the rainy season the Sháh, dissatisfied at not receiving the whole of the prize taken in the campaign, returned to Dehli. His treacherous allies on this opened negotiations with their late opponent Zábita, and restored, for a ransom of a *lakh* and a half of rupees, the captives of his family whom they had retained since the fall of Pathargarh. They passed the rainy season in camp near Agra, negotiating with the Rohelas, who, for their part, attempted to conciliate their dangerous neighbour, the Audh Viceroy, with

whose alliance they vainly hoped to reconstruct the Musalmán league which had been so victorious eleven years before. By the good offices of the British a treaty was concluded, by virtue of which the protector of Rohelkhand—Háfiz Ráhmat—bound himself to aid the Viceroy and Zábíta and to pay the former a sum of forty *lakhs*, in four instalments, on condition of the Mahrattas being excluded from Rohelkhand. This treaty, which proved the ruin of the Rohelas, was executed on on the 11th July 1772. There is no question as to the terms of the treaty, though they have been perverted in Wilson's continuation of Mill.*

It must be admitted that these brave but impolitic Patháns contributed to their own fall. We have often, in the course of the preceding narrative, had occasion to notice the imperfect cohesion of the Indian Afgháns. Violent dissensions now broke out among the Rohela chiefs, in which brother fought against brother, and father against son. At the same time Zábíta—untrue to the alliance of his co-religionists—was making secret terms with the Mahrattas, through whom he hoped to obtain the reversion of his father's office of *Amir-ul-Umra*; in the absence of the Vazir, the highest office of the State. The abilities of Mirza Najaf were already making themselves conspicuous, and the natural antagonism of his common enemies was thus turned into a temporary truce.

It was deemed desirable for the purposes of this league to stir up dissensions in the vicinity of Dehli, by which the Emperor should be alarmed and led to call on the confederates for help. With this view Ranjit Singh, the new Thákur of the Játs, was instigated to renew those claims to the Baluch fief on the right

* *Vide* note at end of chapter, where the text will be found.

bank of the Jumna which had proved fatal to Suraj Mal. Mirza Najaf sent out a force to the aid of the Baluches, but the column was driven back by a combination of the Mahrattas with the Játs who were threatening Balamgarh. Part of the Mahratta forces—under Mah-dáji Sindhia—then went off to the Jaipur country, which they plundered, while the rest, under Tukaji Holkar, advanced upon the metropolis. The Mirza, marching out in person, encountered them about ten miles south of Dehli, with the regular infantry under the French officer, Médoc. But his numbers were too weak; and after four days of skirmishing the Mirza was driven back by way of Humáyun's tomb and Dariao-ganj, and finally entered the city without being able to shut the gate in the face of his pursuers. He still counted upon the defences of the palace, but on the following morning Hassám-ud-daula—already noted for his backstairs influence—went to Holkar, as from his master, and promised that resistance should cease. The Mahrattas, admitted to the presence, proceeded to dictate their own terms. Zábíta was created *Amir-ul-Umra*, and the Emperor agreed to assign to the Mahrattas those provinces in the lower Duáb which had been under his direct control while under British protection. Mirza Najaf was ordered to withdraw. These events occurred in December—exactly a twelvemonth after the helpless Sháh's restoration.

The Mirza, finding himself thus sacrificed, sent to Saháranpur to summon his adopted son Afrasyáb, who had been sent to occupy that district with some squadrons of Mughol horse. Having still with him his own personal cavalry and the trained battalions of Médoc, he took post in a fortified palace beyond the Kábul gate, and awaited the turn of events. Zábíta surrounded the

premises, but did not dare to attack; while the Mahrattas looked on, with curiosity tempered by admiration. Next day the Mirza took a bold and singular step. Putting on all his armour, and wearing over it a shroud of green in the fashion used for the grave-clothes of a descendant of the Prophet of Islám, he rode forth at the head of his escort. Instead, however, of seeking the camp of his Muslim rival, he galloped to the neighbouring outpost of the Mahrattas, raising the Shia outcry of "Yá Hosain!" The astonished heathen opened their ranks, and courteously saluted the fallen Minister, whom they conducted to the tents of Holkar.

It chanced that Holkar had just received news which rendered him desirous of concluding the Rohelkhand business. The Peshwa had died at Poona, and it became an object with all the Mahratta leaders to collect in the Deccan and take a part in the events to which it might give rise. The party at Dehli resolved in these circumstances to avail themselves of the Mirza's courage and ability, and, accompanied by their new ally, marched upon Rohelkhand.

Meanwhile the British, alarmed by the news of the treaty of December, made over to the Audh Viceroy the districts above Allahabad, which the Emperor had promised to cede to the Mahrattas, and which formed the link between their dominions and those of Audh. They had been virtually abandoned by Sháh 'Alam, when, contrary to their advice, he proceeded to Dehli, and the deputy whom he had left in charge had declared that he could not regard the order to surrender them to the Mahrattas as a free act of his master's. It would have been a considerable step towards the ruin of the British in India to have allowed those restless marauders to effect a permanent lodgment in such a

position, and the assigning them to the friendly power of the Viceroy was a perfectly legitimate act of self-defence. The Mahrattas were completely and finally driven out of that part of Hindustán in May 1773, and the failure of their attempt on Rohelkhand soon followed. Mirza Najaf was forced to separate from his Hindu associates by the advance of the allies; Háfiz Rahmat—though secretly in correspondence with the Mahrattas—helped to hem them in on the Etáwa district; Rohelkhand was once more saved.

Joined by the Mirza—who must have been well-pleased to exchange the precarious and unpleasant alliance of the Mahrattas for the society of his old friends the Viceroy and General Barker—the allies marched through Rohelkhand to Anupshahr on the Ganges. This town, which had been an old cantonment of Ahmad the Abdáli, was well suited for the purposes of the British, now seeking to hold the balance among the native powers of Hindustán. To the north were Sakhartál and the fords of the Ganges by which the Rohillas communicated with the Upper Duáb; to the south were Garhmukhtesar and Rámghát, leading to Dehli. A frontier brigade was accordingly left there, and it occupied, until the permanent occupation of the neighbouring country, a position like that of Quetta or Kandáhár in modern Afghan war.

At Anupshahr Najaf took leave of his patrons, receiving from the Viceroy a commission to act as his Deputy in the Vazirate, and from the British General a new and warm recommendation to Sháh 'Alam. Armed with these credentials, and accompanied by a force which, if small, was compact and faithful, the Mirza proceeded to Court. The newly-created premier-noble, Zábíta, retired to Bhartpur, and Hassám-ud-daula (who

had been for some time in charge of the Home districts) was put under arrest till he had submitted his accounts. On the past two years there was a balance against him of no less than fifteen *lakhs*, which he was compelled to disgorge; he was removed, and his appointment was bestowed on a native of Kashmir named Abdul Ahid Khán, who was ennobled by the title of Majd-ud-daula. Manzur Ali Khán became Názir, or Controller of the Household.

Such were the first results of Najaf's renewed submission to the Viceroy; the full price was not paid until he had obtained the sanction of the easy-going Emperor to the destruction of the Pathán power in Rohelkhand.

We have already seen how this fine province, which ran up between the immediate possessions of the Crown and those of the Viceroy of Audh, had been occupied by Ali Muhamad, and was now held by Háfiz Rahmat as Protector and head of the Pathán Confederation. There was nothing contrary to the law and tradition of the Empire in a transfer of power from these contentious and inefficient occupants to the Viceroy-Vazir; nor was there anything so flagitious as it has been the custom to represent in the aid lent by the British.

The Mahrattas were the foes of all rulers on that side of the country; and the Rohillas (or Rohelas), when not in collusion with the Mahrattas, were quite unequal to the task of resisting them. Thus it was essential, both to the safety of the Viceroy and to that of his British allies, that a band of faithless usurpers—who either would not or could not prevent their districts from affording a highway for dangerous marauders—should make over the supreme power to those who would. And this

became so clear to contemporary inquirers that the count arising out of this affair was omitted from the charges against Warren Hastings before his trial began. As for the Viceroy, it must be allowed that his conduct in the affair has an aspect of ingratitude; for he had been indebted to the Rohillas for help and hospitality when his fortunes were at their lowest ebb. Nevertheless, it is to be borne in mind that he did not belong to a sentimental school of politicians; and, further, that had there been an arbitration on legal grounds, the award must have gone in his favour and against the Rohillas. For, while on his part he had fulfilled his share of the Treaty of 1772 by expelling the Mahrattas from Rohilkhand (as, indeed, he had done before), the Protector had taken no steps to pay the wages of that service, or even to collect any portion of it, from his confederate chiefs. Nay, more, the Viceroy's attack was really on the Protector alone; he was joined by Zábíta and some minor Rohilla chiefs, while others—among them the sons of the deceased Dundi Khán and Ali Muhamad's own son, Faiz Ulla—held aloof and strongly advised submission and payment of the debt. In short, the transaction, whether we view it from the point of justice or of political expediency, is less discreditable to the parties who carried it out than most of the doings of the day.

In October 1773 the fort of Etáwa—the last stronghold of the Mahrattas in the Dúáb—was taken, and their troops and civil servants were driven out of Hindustán. The next two or three months were occupied in negotiations between the Viceroy and the Rohillas. In January 1774 they were finally broken off, and the allied forces entered Rohelkhand on the 12th April. Hamilton, the historian of the Rohillas, gives the fol-

lowing strange description of the state of the country, from a native Rohilla source :—

“A surprising degree of animosity and discord had long since arisen in Rohilkund, and each person was earnestly bent on the eradication of his neighbour; and, in order to effect that object, ready to enter into league with foreigners and invaders.” He adds that the original, non-Rohilla, population was rack-rented, while life and property were without protection.

It was time that such a state of things should cease. In vain did the resolute Protector once and for all refuse to pay what he owed, and call out a *levée en masse* of all who would obey his summons. The Emperor, on his part, marched out of Dehli at the head of a small column, which he sent to join the allies after having accompanied it for a few marches. He at the same time issued a patent confirming the cession of the Allahábád provinces that the British had made in favour of the Viceroy. On the 23rd of April (St. George's Day) the British surprised the camp of the Protector at Kattra, near Bareilly. He was defeated and slain, after a brave resistance. The author of the *Siyar* attributes this victory to the British artillery, of which he says that nothing can withstand it save “a particular interposition of Providence and an express miracle.” The Rohillas were “swept away in shoals by that dreadful fire”; and the Protector himself was cut in two by a round-shot. No further opposition was offered. Faiz Ulla was maintained in his patrimonial estate of Rámpur—where his descendants still bear sway—while the rest of the province became tributary to the Viceroy under an Imperial firman. Over seventeen thousand of the soldiery and their families were sent across the Ganges and settled in the fief of Zábíta; “the Hindu

inhabitants, about 700,000, were in no way affected." (Hamilton.) So much for the alleged depopulation of Rohilkhand.

The Imperialists, under Mirza Najaf, had not arrived in time to take an active part in this brief campaign; but the Viceroy acknowledged the importance of the Emperor's support by remitting a handsome fine on his investiture. He also gave the Mirza a reinforcement to aid in his pending operations against the Játs.

Next year died Shujáá-ud-dāula, the Viceroy of Audh; the exact date, according to Beale, being the 29th January 1775. By his own subjects he was sincerely loved, and he is said to have been even lamented by the family of Háfiz Rahmat, the late Protector. On the other hand, the translator of the *Siyar*, confirming his original, asserts—as a fact within his own knowledge—that he owed his death to a wound inflicted by a daughter of the Protector; but the legend rests on no other evidence. The author of the *Siyar* himself admits that this was only a rumour, in which "there may be no foundation of truth."*

However caused, his death was a serious blow to the dwindled Empire, of which he was not only the titular Vazir, but a very powerful supporter. He had acquired experience, and consolidated his power; while the energy of his character remained, and might have been directed and utilised for the benefit of the Empire by the combined influences of the British and of Najaf Khán. But his successor was a weak and cruel volup-

* In the English version the phrase is still stronger, and the story—though corroborated in a foot-note—is in the text represented as utterly false. That the sons of Háfiz Rahmat wept for their conqueror was related to the author of the *Siyar* by one of themselves.

tuary who never left his own province ; and the Mirza, in default of active support, was unable to do much more than hold his own.

When sent to Rohilkhand in 1774, Mirza Najaf had been planning a serious expedition against the Játs, who had been thrown into discontent by the fall of their friend Zábita. The first success of the Mirza was the reduction of the fortified palace of Agra, which they had held for some years. Nothing daunted by this loss, Ranjit Singh advanced upon Dehli while the Minister was still absent ; but the attack was warded off till his return ; he then assumed the offensive, and marched towards the Ját country. No sooner was he gone than Zábita—doubtless by concert with the Játs—created a diversion to the northward, which, however, was defeated by the opportune arrival of a force of 5,000 good troops, with a detail of artillery, that had been sent up from Audh under Latáfat Khán, a general trained by the late Viceroy.

Without heeding the proceedings of Zábita, then, the Mirza moved down the road leading to Muttra and Bhartpur. After some manœuvres and small collisions he finally brought the Játs to bay at Barsána about March 1775. The van of the Imperialists was under Najaf Kuli Khán, a converted Hindu and godson of the Mirza. In the centre of the main line was the Mirza with cavalry and guns, while trained battalions of sepoys formed the wings.* On the Ját side the attack was begun by the brigade under Samru, who advanced with

* Médoc—with whom were some other of Law's subalterns, such as the Comte de Moidavre, and the Chevaliers de Creçy, and du Dernec—was in command of these troops, who formed part of the infantry division under Najaf Kuli Khán, though placed, at first at least, apart from his personal command.

volleys of musketry and discharges of grape. The Mirza was wounded, but his foot and artillery held their ground while he retired behind the shelter of a huge masonry well and bound his wounded arm. Then, hurrying back to the field, he led his own personal following of men-at-arms to the charge with fervent invocations to the God of battles. Najaf Kuli, with the rest of the regular infantry, following at the double, the Játs broke and fled; Samru's brigade was content with a sullen retreat, which saved the army from annihilation, but did no more. The fugitives took shelter in the fortress of Dig, while the conquerors pillaged the open country and invested the fort. It was too strong to be carried by any means at their command, so that a blockade was the only alternative for about the next twelvemonth; nor was it until all resources within the walls had been consumed, and all hope from without had ceased, that, in the end of March 1776, the garrison stole out by night, and fell back upon Kumbher, a place in the neighbourhood of almost equal strength. By this reverse the Thákur of the Játs lost prestige, and not prestige alone. The retreating garrison of Dig removed such portable property as could be carried on their elephants. But the greater part of the Thákur's wealth was left behind, and fell into the hands of the Mirza, including silver plate, stately equipages, and a military chest containing six *lakhs* of rupees. The prize was rateably divided among the officers and men.

But, while the Bhartpur Játs were undergoing these losses, their brethren in the Punjáb were growing in power, activity, and political importance. The unquiet Zábita took a large body of Sikhs into his service about this time, and news was brought to the Mirza that they were in full march upon the metropolis. Justly mis-

trusting the resources and the sincerity of Majd-ud-daula, he returned at once to Dehli, where he was warmly received, created *Amir-ul-Umra*, and honoured with the old Mughol title "*Zulfikár-ud-daula*." His ranks were strengthened by the accession of Samru, who, after his custom, deserted the losing side and took service with those whose star appeared to be ascending.

About this time (6th June 1777) his former patron, Mir Kásim, once Nawáb Názim of Bengal, died in obscurity in a village near Dehli. With a price set upon his head, he had wandered among Rohillas and Játs, vainly endeavouring to obtain employment, and gradually losing friends and property, till there was almost no one to bury him, and no winding-sheet but a worn-out shawl. The massacre of 1763 was avenged.

Najaf's first care, after his return to Dehli, was to send out a reconnoitring expedition. Nothing daunted, Zábita drew out his men and those of his new allies in front of Ghausgarh, where he awaited the attack of the Imperialists. As they advanced to the attack they found their rear threatened by large bodies of horse which had, without being observed, outflanked their line on both sides. Thus placed between two fires, and deprived of their leader by a stray shot, they gave way, and were pursued for many miles. Zábita then retired to his fortress to prepare for eventualities, which soon ensued. The Emperor took the field in person, accompanied by the force from Audh whose arrival has been already mentioned; the Mirza was in general command. Zábita evacuated Ghausgarh, and retired beyond the Jumna to the territory of his associates. The Imperialists followed, Mirza Najaf sternly rejecting a proffer of negotiation. The action took place on the historic field of Pánipat, and raged all day without very decisive result.

But next day Zábíta renewed his application for pardon, and the terms that he received indicate that he must have shown considerable strength, opposed as he was to considerable bodies of regular troops. His forgiveness was attributed to the intercessions of Latáfát, the Audh general, and included the confirmation of his title to the "Fifty-two Parganas," which formed his patrimonial estate. The Mirza took Zábíta's sister to wife, and his daughter was promised to Najaf Kuli, the Mirza's godson. Latáfát was believed to have received a considerable sum of money for his mediation (Francklin's *Sháh 'Alam*, chap. v.).

Peace being restored to Hindustán, we may take a glance at what was then the distribution of administration. If we except the British in Bengal, the revived Empire was now the strongest power in the country. No more than three strong places were left in the hands of the Játs. Agra was held by Najaf in person, the governor being a Persian officer, Muhamad Beg of Hamadán, whose name will occur again. The Mahrattas had been fully occupied in the Deccan by the occurrences that followed on the death of the Peshwa Madhu Rao; and his successor formally recalled what parties remained north of the Narbada. Mirza Najaf held viceregal state at Agra, surrounded by his Mughol followers and guarded by two brigades of regular infantry, with proportionate artillery. Of the Rájputs we need only say that they ought to have been—and we will hope were—happy; their annals were a blank. In Audh Asaf-ud-daula was plunged in vice and cruelty, and had driven his brother, Säädat Ali, to take harbour with Mirza Najaf. Sháh 'Alam lived at Dehli the life of ease which had become habitual to him, yielding—as ever—to the influence of those about him. The Sikhs had

pushed their power as far south as Jhind and Patiala. The British sought the Minister's alliance, but the overtures failed because he would not consent to give Samru up to them. Najaf Kuli was placed in charge of Hariána and the Mewát country; Samru was endowed with the fief of Sardhana, between Zábíta's country and Dehli, where the palace of his family still exists, with a church and convent; the estates yielded six *lakhs* annually, and were given to him ostensibly for the maintenance of the brigade.* In 1778 the general repose was slightly disturbed by an attack on Jaipur, to which Majd-ud-daula led the Emperor. But the Mirza intervened in the interests of peace; and the Rajputs were granted favourable terms.

On the north more serious troubles impended. In accordance with the old traditions, a military governor had been sent to administer Sirhind. The Sikhs resented this interference, and engaged the Faujdár, who was killed in the battle which ensued. On this, Majd-ud-daula persuaded the Emperor to send him to quell the rising; but he was either incompetent or corrupt. Issuing from Dehli with a prince of the blood in nominal command, the Kashmirian, with an army of 20,000 men and a strong park of artillery, came in contact with the Sikhs at Karnál. But Majd-ud-daula preferred the paths of peace, and persuaded the enemy to pay him three *lakhs*, and to promise a yearly tribute. Joining his forces to theirs, he then proceeded northwards, when he received a fresh check from Amr Singh, ruler of Patiala. Fresh negotiations were attempted; but they came to nothing; a large Sikh reinforcement marched up from Lahore; the Karnál force deserted the camp;

* *Vide inf.* "Conclusion."

and a combined assault was made upon the Imperialists. Their faint resistance was overpowered, and they were driven to retreat. The European gunners, however, did their duty; and the army retired in good order without being pursued. In this affair we meet, for the first time, the Chief of Lahore, Ranjit Singh, destined in future years to be the ally of Britain and the Egbert of the Sikh Heptarchy.

In the beginning of 1779, the victorious Sikhs poured into the Upper Dûáb, which they devastated so effectually that old trees are only now beginning to appear in that region. Meanwhile the Mirza had been residing at Agra; only employed with some petty Rájput risings, instigated—as was thought—by his Kashmirian *protégé*, the faithless Majd-ud-daula. That unscrupulous intriguer is shown by Grant Duff to have been at the same time in correspondence with Máhdaji Sindhia, in aid of some plan by which the British possessions should fall to the Mahrattas as the price of further disturbance.

Sindhia had not then acquired the statesman-like views and reasonable aims by which his conduct was actuated in subsequent years. He had about this time serious ideas of expelling the British from every part of India; and in the year now under notice allied himself with Haidar Ali of Mysore and with the Nizám for that object. But Warren Hastings rudely frustrated their plans. The confederation was broken, partly by conciliation and partly by force; and Sindhia, in particular, received a lesson which made a durable impression upon that sagacious mind. In the country between Gwalier and Agra—now known as the Dholpur State—a local Ját landholder had followed the example of Suraj Mal and assumed independence. In 1771, when Sháh 'Alam

was returning to the throne of Dehli, the then Zemindar (Chatr Singh by name) advanced money to the Imperial Treasury, and obtained in return the title of *Máháráj Rána*: henceforth appearing in our histories as "The Rána of Gohud." Having a hereditary feud against the Mahrattas and a hereditary claim to the fortress of Gwalior, then in Mahratta hands, he seemed to Hastings a useful instrument to thrust into the side of Sindhia. Major Popham—one of the best of the Company's officers at the time—was sent to assist the Rána, and stir up a confederation of Ját and Rájput powers to act against the alliances of Sindhia, by which British interests were being threatened. It was resolved to attack Gwalior. The situation of the fort, on a scarped and isolated rock rising 200 feet above the plain, renders it a place of great natural strength; and Sindhia (in whose hands it was) had greatly strengthened its artificial defences. The Rána had already made a futile attempt upon it, aided by Médoc's brigade, either lent for the purpose or formally transferred to his service. But Sindhia was now to learn what could be done by British resolution. Preparing scaling-ladders in such secrecy that his plans were unknown even to the British regimental officers, Popham crossed the Chambal, and on the night of the 3rd August 1780 sent forward a storming-party of picked sepoy, supported by twenty Europeans, the whole commanded by Captain Bruce; Popham himself waiting close by with a reserve. Shod with cotton, to muffle the sound of their footfalls, the men reached the foot of the rock unperceived in the darkness. Guided to a place of access by some thieves, they lay quiet while the Mahratta rounds were passing upon the rampart overhead. When the lights and voices passed away the

ladders were laid against the rock. Then one of the robber guides crept softly up, presently returning with the report that the guard which had been visited had gone to sleep. Next moment the ladders were mounted by Lieutenant Cameron, the Engineer officer; the others followed in silence. Captain Bruce having gained the summit with twenty sepoys, the guard was overpowered, and Popham, who watched the affair from below, came up with his Europeans and made good the entrance; not one life being lost on the side of the captors.* The fort was made over to the Rána; but Sindhia recovered it four years later. On that occasion M. Médoc was driven into Agra. He soon after returned to France, where he was killed in a duel. His brigade was shortly afterwards surprised by a party of Sindhia's cavalry, and completely annihilated.

Meanwhile Najaf Khán was urgently summoned to Dehli, from whose walls the Emperor and his courtiers could hear the clamours of plundered villagers and see the smoke of their homesteads in conflagration. As the Mirza approached he was met by the crestfallen fugitives of the late ignominious campaign. To the Prince he was respectful, but Majd-ud-daula was arrested and sent back to Dehli under a guard. On entering the city the Mirza confiscated all the Kashmirian's ill-gotten wealth, amounting to the sum—more considerable than now—of twenty *lakhs*. The proceeds were handed over to the Treasury, excepting some books and a medicine-chest which the Mirza appropriated as his share. This was the second time that he had taken a magnanimous and clement measure of chastisement against one who deserved severe treatment, both as an

* A similar bloodless surprise was effected at the same fortress in 1858 by two young British officers (Malleeson, vol. iii. p. 227).

ungrateful traitor to himself and as a treacherous and incompetent functionary of the State. The Mirza then despatched a strong force under his nephew, Mirza Shafi, to check the Sikhs. They were found drawn up near Meerut, about forty miles from the metropolis, and soon yielded to the valour of the Mughol veterans and the discipline of the regular battalions. Defeated with the loss of their chief leader and 5,000 men, the Sikhs retired to their own country.

Profiting by the experience of the past, Mirza Najaf remained with his vacillating master, leaving Agra to be taken care of by the competent subordinates whom he had left there. Samru had died there, on the 4th May 1778, as appears from the inscription on his tomb in the Catholic cemetery. His historical epitaph was pronounced by an adventurer of a somewhat later date, James Skinner, who recorded (from tradition received at first-hand) that the deceased *Condottiere* was "stern and bloody-minded, in no degree remarkable for fidelity or devotion to his employers." The brigade was kept up by a female slave—the celebrated Begam Samru—who was accordingly put in charge of the lands which had been assigned for its support. This remarkable woman was the daughter of a Musalmán, of Arab descent, settled in the town of Kotána, a place about thirty miles north-west of Meerut, where she was born about 1753. On the death of her father she and her mother were in distress and went to Dehli, the girl being then about seven years old. She finally fell into the hands of Samru, whose wife was insane. The young girl soon took the place of a consort and obtained great influence over her unamiable lord. At his death he left a son, born of the lawful but lunatic lady; and as he was still a minor, the Mirza, observing her force of character,

conferred the succession upon the morganatic Begam, as has been above recorded. In 1781 she embraced Christianity, and was baptised at Agra by the Romish priest there, under the name of "Joanna Nobilis." She had command of five battalions of trained sepoy, with forty pieces of cannon and about three hundred Europeans—officers, sergeants, and gunners.

On the 26th April 1782 died Mirza Najaf Khán. Mill says "late in the year"; but the date here given is recorded by Warren Hastings in a despatch written at the time. To a writer or a reader wandering in the dry places of this ruined Eastern empire there must be a real pleasure in dwelling for an instant upon so exceptional a figure—resolute in adversity, merciful in success, whose memory is free from the stains of cruelty and falsehood which tarnish almost every name of the period. Captain Jonathan Scott—who was a good scholar and well acquainted with native politics as Persian Secretary to the Governor-General—tells us that no one ever left the Mirza's presence dissatisfied: if he could grant a request he would; if not, he would never fail to convince the applicant of his sorrow at being obliged to refuse. Like his worthy predecessor Najib-ud-daula, he was a foreign immigrant: and it is to be noted that very few indeed of the best men of those days were natives of Hindustán. There is something in the influences that surround children in that country—especially the children of men in power—which always acts unfavourably on their training.

At the time of his death the Mirza held extensive fiefs, including the province of Agra, with a portion of the Ját territories and the district of Alwar. He left considerable property; and its division soon became the source of violent dissensions. There is an account of

these transactions in a paper submitted to the British Government by the Sháhzáda Jawan Bakht, who had formerly held the nominal Regency during his father the Sháh's absence in Bengal and Allahábád. After noticing the fact that Majd-ud-daula continued to be a prisoner in his house, the Prince goes on to state that an equerry went to the Sháh and procured from him a patent, in which existing appointments were confirmed. The Prince then says that he was deputed by His Majesty to quell disturbance and provide for the funeral. He sent the *cortege* off, to the cemetery, Afrasyáb—the adopted son*—attending the body to its last home as chief mourner. But the Sháh refused to recognise Afrasyáb as heir, from fear of the nephew, Mirza Shafi, who was in command of the troops. Well would it have been had the Sháh adhered to this prudent resolution. But he was overwhelmed by female solicitations, and in an evil hour conferred upon Afrasyáb the investiture of *Amir-ul-Umra*, at the same time causing the Prince (who says that he was but too sensible of the evil promise of the measure) to send for Shafi, who was with the army in the field.

Afrasyáb was an inexperienced youth, devoid alike of mental strength and of material resources. His first public act was the enlargement of the faithless Kashmirian, Majd-ud-daula; and by recommending him to the Emperor he procured the reinstatement of that singularly objectionable official. Meanwhile the nephew, Shafi, arrived, and proceeded to his late uncle's house, where he conciliated the widow by promising to marry her daughter. The feeble Afrasyáb retired to his country house; and Shafi, on the 11th September,

* He does not appear to have been of kin to Najaf Khán, but a sort of favourite orderly, or "mameluke."

arrested Majd-ud-daula and Najaf Kuli Khán; the result being that he was appointed Minister in the room of the absent Afrasyáb.

But the latter had still friends at Court : a European named Paoli, commandant of the Begam Samru's brigade, and Latáfat Khán, the Audh general. These officers drew the bulk of the troops to desert the cause of Shafi, who retired to Kosi, in the district of Muttra. Majd-ud-daula was once more released, and undertook to represent the cause of Shafi with the Emperor.

While both the Ministers were thus in a manner exiles, and anarchy reigned in Dehli, a new competitor appeared in the neighbourhood, in the shape of Mahdaji Sindhia, the Patel.* His position had just been greatly improved by the Treaty of Salbai, an arrangement which resulted from the spirited policy pursued by Mr. Hastings, of which the taking of Gwalior was a specimen. Coote and Stuart, too, in the south had struck repeated blows at the confederacy, while peace was concluded between the British and the French, in India as in Europe. Sindhia had been cowed into submission; and in 1782 he put his hand to this famous instrument. In this treaty the British authorities recognised him as the representative head of the Mahrattas. The Peshwa was still a minor, and the ostensible head of the administration—Nána Farnavis—though a man of much ability, was a mere civilian, without material resources or capacity for war. The British Governor-General at the same time sent a political mission to Dehli. The results of this new departure will be seen in the next chapter.

NOTE.—As Wilson states that the agreement of 1772 has been misrepresented, and that the Viceroy of Audh

* Or "Headborough." This was a title affected by Mahdaji.

was only surety for the forty *lakhs* which were to be actually paid, not to him but to the Mahrattas, it may be as well to cite the actual words of the treaty, in which no such stipulation occurs.

“The Vuzeer shall establish the Rohillas, obliging the Mahrattas to retire, either by peace or war. If at any time they shall again enter the country, their expulsion is the business of the Vuzeer. The Rohilla Sirdars, in consequence of the above, do agree to pay to the Vuzeer forty *lakhs* of rupees,” &c. &c.

There is no word of any payment to the Mahrattas. The full treaty, of which this is an extract, will be found in Hamilton's *History*, a work taken from Rohilla sources. Besides Hamilton, the authorities for this chapter are the *Siyar*, the *Muzafari*, and Francklin's *Sháh Alam*. The first of these works is not throughout of equal accuracy; but it is impossible to deny its general air of good faith, or its just and able discriminations of character. The second is an excellent chronicle, full of life-like touches of the time and place. Francklin's work is that of an attentive European contemporary, availing himself of the best native information. In particular, he acknowledges his obligations to a certain Nawáb Riza Khán.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GREAT ANARCHY.—MAHDAJI SINDHIA.
A.D. 1782-94.

THE narrative now introduces a period that may be fairly said to be without parallel in history. Hindustán was in a complete state of disintegration and approaching anarchy. The Emperor and his courtiers had lost all solid power, although the prestige of the once mighty Empire still influenced the minds of men. But every considerable province had become independent; and the independence, in many instances, extended farther and was characteristic of districts, and even of townships. A cloud lay over Upper India, but through its rifts were ever and anon visible gleams of fire and sword; the fumes of burning crops and homesteads were ever rising, blended with the reek of innocent blood. The ultimate outcome of Islám in India—for all the fair promise of its earlier course—had been little better than the abomination of desolation. We are told by Baillie Fraser (on the authority of James Skinner, a soldier of fortune of the time) that much of the country was becoming depopulated. “So reduced,” says he, “was the actual number of human beings, and so utterly cowed their spirit, that the few villages that did continue to exist, at great intervals, had scarcely any communication with

each other; and so great was the increase of beasts of prey that the little communication that remained was often cut off by a single tiger known to haunt the road."

But there was still something of that yearning for unity which the people of a region that has known what it is must always find a difficulty in quite suppressing. As a central paramount authority men still looked to the Court of Dehli, though it was plain that its actual power was gone. In the language of a great soldier and politician of a few years later :

Le respect envers la maison de Timour regnait à tel point que, quoique toute la péninsule se fût successivement soustraite à son autorité, aucun prince de l'Inde ne s'était arrogé le titre de souverain. Sindhia partageait le respect; et Sháh Alam était toujours assis sur le trône Mogol, et tout se faisait en son nom." (De Boigne, 1790.)

It has been shown that "the Patel," as Mahdaji Sindhia affected to style himself, was becoming an important factor in the politics of Hindustán, and that he had been a principal party to the Treaty of Salbai. Haider Ali in the Deccan was busy with a confederation for the purpose of extirpating the British from the whole of India; but in the last month of 1782 he died, and Nána Farnavis—the Prime Minister of the Peshwa—hastened to ratify the treaty whereby the neutrality, if not the friendship, of the Mahratta union was secured to the British. But the Patel did not consider his scheme of general aggrandisement as in any way frustrated. He recovered Gwalior, and threatened Gohad; and he was lying in the neighbourhood of the Chambal, waiting the moment when he might intervene as umpire in the pending Mughol dispute, and snatch up the prize for his own behoof.

The moment was not long arriving. Shafi came back to Dehli, bringing with him Muhamad Beg, of Hamadán,

the Governor of Agra. Paoli and Latáfat coming out to the camp to treat, the one was imprisoned, the other put to death. Afrasyáb had also returned ; and by the mediation of the Prince (whose narrative has been already cited) a truce was arranged between the rivals. They were sent for by the Emperor, who invested them with dresses of honour, appointing Shafi Premier, and restoring the household to Majd-ud-daula. But it was impossible for the vacillating Sháh to let anything rest. Afrasyáb got his ear, Shafi was sent to Agra, and refused admittance on his return. He went back to Agra and assumed such an appearance of hostility that it was deemed advisable to send an emissary, ostensibly to ask his intentions. The emissary sent was Muhamad Beg. The chiefs met in the Tripolia, an open place in front of the main gate of the citadel, each being mounted on an elephant. The animals having approached each other, the Mirza held out his hand in greeting, and the Beg, seizing the opportunity, pistolled him under the arm. This was in the end of September 1783.

No doubt seems to have been felt that this crude piece of diplomacy was prompted by Afrasyáb, who hastened to profit by it, and assumed the post of the deceased. The Prince became gravely anxious, and resolved that, as soon as might be possible, he would lay his case before Warren Hastings in a personal interview. The British envoys at Dehli were already favourable. "The business of assisting the Sháh," so they wrote in December, "must go on if we wish to be secure in India, or regarded as a nation of faith and honour" (Mill, bk. vi. ch. i.). Mr. Hastings was nothing loth ; he desired to sustain the Empire because he anticipated from its dissolution nothing but chaos or Sindhia, and neither alternative was for the good of

British interests. But his Council was too strong for him, though his enemies—with strange inconsistency—made the failure to support the Emperor one of the charges in his subsequent impeachment. It is probable that it was in direct consequence of his being overruled in Council on this point that he turned to Sindhia as the next best chance. He at the same time set out from Calcutta, and arrived at Lucknow on the 27th March 1784.

Prince Jawan Bakht was closely watched at Dehli. But he was a wise and sincere man, and he saw a chance which would not again occur if now neglected. Accordingly on the night of the 14th April he effected his escape from the palace, by the aid of a body of his tenantry from the opposite side of the river where his estates were, and in due course reached Lucknow. His talents and virtues, added to his misfortunes, aroused strong sympathy, and he obtained an allowance of four *lakhs* a year and a recommendation to seek the alliance of Sindhia, the Patel of whom he felt distrust.

In the meanwhile the assassin Muhamad Beg was reinstalled at Agra, and extorting from Afrasyáb the price of his criminal service in a variety of unpleasant ways, which led his employer to turn for relief to the Mahratta chieftain. In the *Calcutta Gazette* for 18th April 1784, we read a sentence or two from which we may fancy the interest with which the Patel's movements were beginning to be regarded. On the 10th May the same journal notes that the Emperor was also purposing to march towards Agra. So the toils were closing around Afrasyáb, who precipitated his punishment by ill-judged violence. Majd-ud-daula had endeared himself to the facile sovereign by many years of association ; and Afrasyáb might have left him alone

in his obvious and proved imbecility. But instead of doing so he arrested the feeble old courtier with gratuitous violence, stripping him of the whole of his property and making him a close prisoner. This affair not only annoyed the Emperor and alienated his sympathies, but appears to have frightened him out of his intention of taking part in the attack on Muhamad Beg and joining the expedition to Agra.

Unfriended, ignorant, and rash, Afrasyáb went there with his forces and awaited the Patel's arrival before the walls. At the end of October the Patel appeared, and was probably in secret correspondence with the Emperor, if not in actual possession of instructions for treating the arrogant Minister as an enemy on the first occasion. Great friendliness was meanwhile shown on both sides. Sindhia's camp was pitched, and plans were concerted for an immediate joint attack on Muhamad Beg and his garrison.

Three days later all was in confusion. The brother of the deceased Mirza Shafi stabbed Afrasyáb in his tent, and escaped unpunished to the camp of the Mah-rattas. There the Patel was waited on by the principal men of all parties, who vied in protestations of fidelity and proffers of service. The Patel presently marched to Dehli, obtained a patent appointing the Peshwa nominal Vicegerent of the Empire, and assumed for himself the command of the army, with the direct management of the provinces of Agra and Dehli, which he charged with a monthly payment of sixty-five thousand rupees for the personal expenses of the Sháh. Gohad fell on the 24th November, and the event was followed by the enlistment of a European officer who had been endeavouring to join the Gohad service, Benoit de Boigne, by whose aid the foundations of the

new Mahratta-Mughol power were eventually to be laid deep and strong.

Of the early life of this eminent man it will be enough here to state that he was a native of Chambéry, who—after an apprenticeship of military adventure in the French and Russian armies—had obtained a commission in the 6th Madras Native Infantry about the year 1778. In the beginning of 1783 he left the service and proceeded to Calcutta, with a letter of introduction from Lord Macartney to the Governor-General, Warren Hastings. From thence he travelled up to Lucknow, bearing an introduction to Mr. Middleton, the Resident at the Court of Asaf-ud-daula. Here he made the acquaintance of Colonel Martine, another adventurer who had, like himself, been an officer in the Company's service, and at the end of the year went to Dehli, where he made Mirza Shafi's acquaintance, and vainly endeavoured to obtain a command in the Imperial army. Failing here, he repaired to the head-quarters of Sindhia—who was then besieging Gohad—and while there opened a correspondence with Mr. Sangster, chief gunner to the beleaguered Rána, to whom he communicated a plan for the relief of the place. But Sindhia was watching the mysterious stranger, whose tent he caused to be plundered, and learned his designs by papers he thus obtained. De Boigne was peremptorily recalled to Calcutta, and his prospects seemed darker than ever. But he returned to Lucknow in the train of Warren Hastings, and finally repaired to Dehli once more. Here he was introduced to Sháh 'Alam by Major Browne, the head of the British Mission, and shortly after engaged by the Patel, who had a strong recollection of the bold and clear character reflected in the stolen Gohad correspondence of the year before. He

was commissioned to raise two battalions of 850 men each, with a salary of one thousand rupees for himself, and an allowance of eight rupees a head for the pay of his officers and men, to be apportioned at his discretion among the various ranks.

About this time Zábita Khán passed away from the scene that he had so long troubled, leaving two sons, Ghulám Kádír, already mentioned, being the elder and his father's successor in the Fifty-two Parganas. Mu-hamad Beg also ceased troubling for the moment; his garrison had melted away, and he surrendered the fortress of Agra on the 27th March 1785. All that was now left of the Mughol power in Hindustán was the town of Köil, commanded by the fort of Aligarh, where the family of the murdered Afrasyáb still held out in hopes of preserving the property of the deceased, of which the greater part was still intact. This stronghold had been wrested from the Játs by the late Mirza Najaf Khán and fortified with great care. But by November the Governor perceived that his defence was failing, and, to avoid the horrors of a storm, yielded to the entreaties of the ladies and made terms, by which the property was made over on condition of an estate being settled upon Afrasyáb's son.

Sindhia, Patel, was now master of Central Hindustán; a Mahratta garrison occupied the citadels of Agra and Dehli; and the Emperor accompanied the armies in the field, a helpless but imposing pageant. Sindhia himself remained cantoned at the sacred city of Mathura (Muttra), about midway between Dehli and Agra. These years were marked by a famine so disastrous as to have left a name among posterity as the "*Chalisa Kant*." Wheat was selling at from eight to four *sirs* for the rupee. Many thousands of the people were unable to

procure food at such prices, and died of absolute starvation, the Government being indifferent or powerless. Children were left to wander and feed on the berries of the forest, and thus became an easy prey to the wild animals who, shaking off all fear of man, fed upon human flesh in open day, and in the most public places. The darkest time seems to have been in 1783; but as late as the middle of May 1784 the prices above noted were recorded in the *Calcutta Gazette*.

In 1786 Muhamad Beg was sent into Málwa, where a colony of the Jaipur Rájputs had possession of Rághugarh, a fort commanding the main road into the Mahratta country of the south. The Patel, at the same time, sent to Lucknow to invite the return of Prince Jawán Bakht; but the Prince, strongly dissuaded by Asaf-ud-daula and the British Resident, refused to trust himself to Mahratta protection. Mr. Hastings had left India; and his successor, Mr. Macpherson, took the important step of sending a British brigade to Cawnpore, where it was left by Lord Cornwallis. An entry in the *Calcutta Gazette*, under date 8th March 1787, shows that the authorities in Bengal were beginning to feel themselves drawn into the politics of Hindustán, where they regarded the Mughols as members of "a declining State, who are at the same time our secret enemy and rivals."

In pursuance of similar views the Patel about the same time sequestered a number of the *Jágirs*, or feudal estates, of the Musalmán aristocracy. The measure was doubly justified; for it not only weakened a body of men who had become a danger to order and consolidation, but it prepared the way for the substitution of a standing army of regular troops in place of the effete and turbulent levies. Sindhia also recalled Muhamad Beg from the siege of Rághugarh, and attempted to

induce him to disband his followers. Himmat Bahádur, a soldier of fortune in Bundelkhand, was at the same time ordered to give an account of the revenues of his *Jágir*: looking on this as a preliminary to resumption, he went into open rebellion.

The moment seemed inopportune for reform. Emboldened by the departure of Muhamad Beg, the Rájputs organized a combination which not only implied a loss of revenue and prestige, but likewise threatened to cut in two the communications with the Deccan. Rája Partab Singh of Jaipur allied himself with the head of the Ráthors of Jodhpur, Maharája Bijai Singh, who had espoused his daughter. Joined by the Maharána of Udaipur and other minor chiefs, the confederates found themselves at the head of 100,000 horse and foot, with 400 pieces of artillery. They encamped near Lál-sant, forty-three miles east of Jaipur, and there awaited the attack of the Imperial forces. Their hearts were, doubtless, strengthened by the knowledge that the Mughol nobles were disaffected and Muhamad Beg far from zealous in the cause he affected to serve.

In the end of May 1787, Sindhia arrived at the head of a force of which the Mahratta section was under two officers of that nation, Ambaji Ingliá and Appu Khándi Rao. The regular infantry of M. de Boigne was there; and a large body of Mughol men-at-arms under Muhamad Beg and his nephew, Ismail Beg Khán, who was to be hereafter remarkable as the last leader on a large scale of the mediæval mailed cavalry. Of the fighting that ensued we have several accounts, hard to reconcile, and without much interest save for the indirect and ultimate consequences. Muhamad Beg was killed, Ismail and many of his men went over to the enemy, as did 14,000 infantry with a quantity of field-pieces. Sin-

dhia's remaining army was blockaded, plundered, and famished ; he had to fall back upon Agra. But, though checked, he was not beaten. He made great and successful efforts to secure the support of the Játs, to whom he restored the fortress of Dig, taken (as we saw) by Najaf Khán. At the same time he sent despatches to Poona, earnestly urging a general combination.

Ismail Beg failed to raise the Rájputs to renewed action. He then turned to a more likely associate, Ghulám Kádir, who hastened up from Ghausgarh, eager to join in the revival of Muslim power. The Rájputs, though they would not advance, engaged the division of Ambaji, and with success. Sindhia had to abandon Agra and throw himself into Gwalior, which there was no Popham to besiege this time. Ismail Beg besieged the Mahrattas in Agra, and Ghulám Kádir drove their garrison out of Dehli. By the agency of Manzur Ali, the Comptroller of the Household, the Rohela chief was introduced into the Emperor's Durbár, where he applied for the office of *Amir-ul-Umra*, taking up his quarters in the apartments belonging to that office. But Begam Samru presently arriving with her brigade under European officers, he retired across the river, and remained for some time quiet in his camp at Sháhdara. The Emperor detached some of his Mughol officers to keep an eye on him there, and increased his household troops, melting down his personal plate to provide for their pay. He also called in Najaf Kuli Khán from his fief of Bewári.

Najaf Kuli obeyed the summons, and encamped near Begam Samru on the glacis fronting the main gate of the citadel in which the palace was situate. A cannonade was opened on the camp of Ghulám Kádir on the opposite shore, which was replied to with such effect

that round-shot fell on the *Diwán-i-Khás*, or audience-hall of the Emperor. In the end a compromise was effected, in virtue of which Ghulám Kádir received the office for which he was an applicant. He then marched to Aligarh, and captured the fort, proceeding from thence to join his forces to those of Ismail Beg, and press the siege of Agra.

At the end of the cold weather—about March 1788—Sindhia woke from his apparent apathy, having received reinforcements from the Deccan, and came across the Chambal at Dholpur. The Muslim confederates broke up from before Agra, and gave him battle at Chaksána, eleven miles from Bhurtpur, on the 24th April. The Mahrattas were commanded by Rána Khán, a promoted water-carrier much favoured by Sindhia. Besides de Boigne, there was with their army another French officer, named Listeneaux, and also a Dutchman, John Hession. The Muslim cavalry were handled with spirit; three of the regular battalions deserted the Mahrattas in the midst of the action; the Ját horse proved worthless. Rána Khán withdrew under cover of night to Bhurtpur. Ismail Beg returned to the siege of Agra, while Ghulám Kádir went back to his possessions on the northward side, which were threatened with an incursion of the Sikhs.

While these transactions were taking place beyond the Jumna the Emperor had marched towards Rájpután, where his presence had been invited by the Rája of Jodhpur. He was attended by the Begam Samru, by a small contingent from Lucknow, and by Himmatt Bahádur, with his Gosains, or fighting friars. Najaf Kuli was not a member of this expedition. He had been aggrieved by the appointment of a Mughol officer to the charge of some part of his fief; on the arrival of this

man Najaf Kuli seized him and threw him into prison at Rewári. This was, of course, an act of rebellion which even a Government as feeble as that of the Emperor had now become could not endure. Another loss of strength occurred in the departure of the virtuous but unlucky Jawán Bakht. This prince left the army with the intention of occupying the fort and district of Agra. In this he was ultimately unsuccessful, and—after a pathetic but fruitless appeal to George III. of England—he retired to Benares, where, after having been Regent of the Empire, he died a pensioner of the East India Company on the 31st of May 1788. The army marched on towards Rájpután.

The first halt—and, as it proved, the last—was under the walls of Gokalgarh, Najaf Kuli's stronghold in the sandy confines of the Alwar hills. Najaf Kuli was a bold soldier; and, nothing daunted by the presence of the Imperial army, refused to leave his fort unless he was appointed Premier. Trenches were accordingly opened, and the place invested. In the grey dawn of the 5th April the besieged beat up the camp with a vigorous sally; and, before daybreak, followed it up by a general attack which was completely successful. The "Red Battalion" gave way, the body-guard fled in confusion, the flag of the Empire and the sacred person before whose tent it floated were in danger of capture. As the fugitives passed the tents of Begam Samru that valiant lady came forth in her litter, escorted by three battalions and a field-piece manned by Europeans. The infantry, deploying with the greatest coolness, barred the way of the pursuing garrison; the gun was in the centre, loaded with grape. The whole line opened fire, before which the enemy wavered and lost ground. A Mughol officer who had rallied a body of horse came up

at the gallop, followed by Himmat Bahádur with his Gosains, or fighting friars. A general *melée* ensued, in which the Mughol, with many of his men, fell. The Gosains left two hundred of their body dead ; but the advance continued ; Najaf Kuli was driven back into his fort, which was surrendered the same day. Availing himself of the mediation of the Názir (Manzur Ali) and the Begam, Najaf Kuli was admitted to the presence and pardoned ; the Begam, at the same Durbár, being proclaimed the Emperor's daughter, and honoured with the title of "*Zeb-un-nissa*," or "*Glory of the Sex*."

The expedition exhausted itself in this small triumph. On the 15th the Emperor set out on his return to Dehli without having visited Ajmir or done anything to confirm the attachment of the Rájput chiefs. These unenterprising but dogged men fought on till they had cleared their country of invasion. Driven out of Rájpután, the Patel crossed the Chambal, while Ambaji was prevented from joining him. He had also lost de Boigne, who was dissatisfied with his position and with the small use made of regular infantry, which he foresaw to be the force of the future. He had made a friend of Claude Martine, who was amassing a colossal fortune in the paths of peace at Lucknow, and to him de Boigne resolved to have recourse. We have to imagine this modern Cincinnatus diverting to the growth of indigo and the posting of ledgers (in the dominions of Asaf-udaula, and under the protection of his old employers the British) those energies that had been lately bestowed on the laurels of war.

Meanwhile, all was going to ruin in the Upper Provinces. Sindhia, having received fresh reinforcements from the Deccan, was enabled to raise the siege of Agra ; Ismail Beg was driven off, after an encounter near the

old Imperial Palace of Fatehpur Sikri. He crossed the Jumna, and, being joined by Ghulám Kádir, went off in his company to Dehli, where Sháh 'Alam was once more residing. Leaving Lakwa Dáda, one of his best Mahratta officers, in charge of Agra, Sindhia fell back upon his favourite cantonment of Muttra, sending a small contingent to protect the Emperor at Dehli. The Muslim leaders encamped at Shahdara.

Their commissariat arrangements were defective ; the season was that of the monsoon, when the winter crops were exhausted and the autumn crops unripe. Scarcity prevailed in the camp, and the confederates, after a vain effort to obtain their ends by negotiation, once more opened fire on the citadel across the river. At the same time they intrigued with the Sháh's officers with such effect that the Mughol portion of the garrison came over to them ; and Himmat, the leader of the Gosains, withdrew his force. Seeing the Emperor thus deserted, the confederates crossed the river, entered Dehli, and took possession of the citadel and the palace. The scenes that ensued have been detailed by the author in a former work (*Fall of the Mughol Empire*, book ii. chap. vi.).

On the 18th July the confederates appeared in the audience-hall, and each received a *Khilat* of seven pieces, with other gifts. Ismail Beg then retired and spent the remainder of the day in making arrangements for the safety of the inhabitants : his men being quartered in and about the mausoleum of Sháh Nizám-ud-din Aulia, beyond the old city of Firoz Sháh, south of the modern city. Ghulám Kádir's men were in the suburb of Dariaoganj—the site of the present British cantonment—but he himself took up his quarters in the palace, using the apartments attached to the office of Premier, which he assumed. From the 29th of July to

the 10th of August he occupied himself with digging for concealed treasures, and endeavouring, by every sort of ill-usage, to extort from the Sháh and members of the Imperial family the secret of the concealment which he supposed them to possess. On the last-mentioned day he caused the fallen Emperor to be brought before him as he sate on the dismantled throne, and when the old man once more asseverated—what was no matter of doubt—that there was no such treasure in existence, he leapt from the throne, threw his Sovereign on the ground, and blinded him with his own dagger, assisted by his Rohela followers. When this crime had been committed he tauntingly asked Sháh 'Alam if he could see anything? “Nothing,” replied the tortured and bleeding sufferer, “but the Korán between thee and me”—Ghulám Kádir having lately taken an oath of fidelity on the sacred book.

Sháh 'Alam was sent as a prisoner to the Salim Garh, and the spoiler held revel in the royal halls, only disturbed by reports of the gradual gathering of Mahratta troops in the neighbourhood. By the 18th a blockade had been established, and scarcity prevailed in the city and even in the palace, many of the female inmates dying of starvation. One day Ghulám Kádir sent for the younger members of the Imperial family, and caused them to dance before him like the common street-performers. He then affected to go to sleep upon the throne while they stood trembling by: after a while he sat up and reviled them for not having dared to stab him while they had the opportunity. The young Princesses were outraged; the elder scourged and starved. At length, on the 7th September, he moved his men back to their former camp at Sháhdara, so as to open the road to his own domains; and a week later he

made a last attempt to shake what he considered the Sháh's obstinacy about the hidden treasure.

The 11th day of October was the last day of the fast of the Moharam, or celebration of the death of the sons of Ali. It had become known that Ismail Beg—disgusted at his partner's proceedings—had made terms with the Mahratta leader, Rána Khán. Listeneaux had arrived with the formidable battalions of de Boigne ; all was movement and din in the rebel camp at Shahdara. As the short, chill autumn evening fell the powder-magazine of the citadel exploded, and flames were seen rising above the crenellated parapets ; a solitary elephant at the same time making the best of his way across the Jumna, bearing the Rohela chief to his encampment. He had left by a sally-port, after setting fire to the magazine.

The Mahratta general immediately entered on the other side, and the conflagration was extinguished before much mischief had been done beyond the loss of the ordnance stores. The Rohelas retired unmolested for the moment.

As soon as the safety of the palace and its helpless inmates had been secured, Rána Khán hastened in pursuit of the Rohelas, who took refuge in the fortress of Meerut, about forty miles off, on the way towards Ghausgarh. After a spirited defence, Ghulám Kádír resolved on flight. On the night of the 21st December he stole forth, mounted on a swift horse whose saddle he had stuffed with the crown jewels. Falling into a pit in the darkness he was captured by some villagers and handed over to Rána Khán. By Sindhia's orders he was slain by tortures that lasted several days, and his mangled body was sent to Dehli and laid before his sightless victim the Sháh.

As no blind man could be a Sultán—a rule which has caused so many crimes—the restoration of Sháh 'Alam in such circumstances may be taken as a sign that the Empire was at an end. How deep its roots had struck in the public mind, however, may be inferred from the character of the military insurrection of 1857, when, an attempt to revive it having failed, the last shred was swept away. The direct representative of the Chaghtai dynasty died a British pensioner at Rangoon, while collateral descendants reside at Dehli, respected and well-conducted members of the general community.

The history of Hindustán now becomes little more than an account of the doings of various adventurers, native and European, who were unconsciously preparing the stage for a new performance. The anarchy was at its worst, and the darkest hour had arrived which proverbially precedes the dawn. Sindhia's most serious trouble was Ismail Beg, a stupid chivalrous leader of heavy horse, who might be less dangerous as a friend than if he were left roving about in search of booty. He was accordingly provided with occupation and subsistence by the charge of the Rewári country south-west of Dehli, where Najaf Kuli had lately died. Sindhia's next care was to strengthen the regular army, on whose arms and discipline he felt that he must henceforth rely for the means of curbing such leaders as Ismail. Listeneaux had suddenly departed, having—according to current rumour—captured Ghulám Kádir's runaway horse with its precious housings. But the services of de Boigne were still available; and Sindhia got him back from Lucknow by giving him the promise of unfettered discretion in future military arrangements. Listeneaux's men were eight months in arrears, and mutinous in

consequence. De Boigne, having *carte blanche*, surrounded the brigade, made them pile arms, disbanded them with a grant of money, and proceeded to re embody the men in a number of new regiments which he formed out of the abundant material at his disposal. The officers were the most respectable Europeans that he could collect, and the old battalions supplied the requisite number of steady veterans for the non-commissioned ranks. The augmented force constituted a solid division of three brigades, with forty field-pieces and five hundred Mughol horse to each brigade. The pay was provided from lands held by de Boigne for the purpose, which gradually developed into a settled civil administration in and about the district of Aligarh. A gratuity was assured to all who might be wounded in action, and it was guaranteed that they should have full pay whilst under treatment in hospital. Invalids were to have pensions, in money and land.*

The first use of the new force was in 1790. The restless Ismail was soon weary of the repose of civil life; confiding in his knowledge of a certain sort of warfare, he raised his standard at Pátan near Ajmere, and thousands of disbanded Afghán and Persian horsemen flocked round it at once. From the north a renewal of the Abdáli incursions threatened; in Rájpután the chiefs were ready for revolt; Ismail was in his element. In March, de Boigne left his master at Muttra, and, sending before him a cloud of Mahratta skirmishers, marched towards the Beg's head-quarters with a complete brigade

* This division ultimately became a powerful *corps d'armée* of sixty-eight battalions with 427 guns, and a proportion of horse, each battalion consisting of 416 privates, 94 non-commissioned officers, and a due allotment of officers, often European or half-castes. The monthly expense was 4,500 rupees for each unit.

and fifty field-pieces. On the 25th May he reached Pátan, where he instantly attacked. Ismail was entrenched upon rising ground, and for three weeks continued to defy all attempts at assault. But this defensive method of warfare was unsuited to the Beg's taste and temper. On the 20th June he sent word to de Boigne that he was going to become the assailant; and early next morning de Boigne's drums beat the *générale* and he awaited the Beg's visit. The action, however, did not begin till three in the afternoon. The shock was rough. Advancing through a tempest of grape and canister, the Mughol cuirassiers and the opium-heated Rájputs charged fiercely down the hill. But de Boigne and his officers, maintaining their *sang-froid*, restored their shaken line, and the infantry rolled back the charge with ceaseless volleys. Mediæval war was on its trial, almost for the last time. Covered by discharges of round-shot from all their field-batteries, the battalions advanced with fixed bayonets; the enemy fled in all directions; the intrenchment was stormed; by 9 P.M. the victory was complete. The prize included fifty elephants and abundant baggage; 100 guns and 200 standards being also captured. The small disciplined force * had, in hard fighting, beaten 20,000 cavalry and an equal force of foot, armed and led in the old manner.

Three days later the town of Pátan was entered: the fortress (which has been called "the Indian Gibraltar") immediately surrendered, and the war seemed at an end, so far, at least, as Ismail was concerned. But the Rájput chiefs took up the quarrel. Sending a force from

* De Boigne estimated his numbers at 10,000, which is doubtless accurate, for he was an unrivalled man of business. He says that he lost 120 killed and 472 wounded. (See despatch, *Fall of the Mughol Empire*, p. 214.

Muttra to hold the Rájá of Jaipur in check, Sindhia directed de Boigne to advance on Jodpur.

Advancing by way of Ajmere—which he took on the 22nd August—de Boigne laid siege to the great fastness of Táragarh, upon the heights which crown the city. While thus engaged he received a message from Bijai Singh, the Rájá of Márwár (Jodpur), who attempted to corrupt him. “Enter my service,” wrote the chief, “and I will give you Ajmere and all the surrounding district.” The general quietly answered that his master having already given him the whole of his correspondent’s dominions, he was not to be tempted by the offer of a part.

There was nothing for it but to try force. Bijai Singh was nearing Ajmere with a large force, when de Boigne, leaving his camp before Táragarh, moved with a large detachment to meet the Rájá. He came up with him on the evening of the 9th September. The Jodpur army, 30,000 sabres, with twenty battalions and some guns, encamped in front of Mahirta, a large walled town seventy-six miles north-east of the city of Jodpur. After reconnoitring the position, the general determined to assault the camp next morning.

Before day-break on the 10th, de Boigne moved up and surprised the Rájputs at their ablutions. The first position was already carried; and Colonel de Rohan, a French officer, imprudently pushed on with three battalions, in advance of his supports. A strong body of the enemy’s horse having by this time collected, fell upon him and drove him back with disorder and loss. Gathering numbers as they went, the Rájput cavalry next charged the whole brigade. De Boigne at once threw the battalions into the form of squares, with field-pieces in the interior of each. Baffled of their prey, the

enemy turned upon the light horse of the Mahrattas, whom they chased from the field and followed far and furiously. But they had to return ; and the return was bloody. De Boigne, in their absence, had improved his formation. On each side of the road were ranged the squares ; in the intervals between stood the field-batteries. The squares, bristling with flashing bayonets, dealt out incessant bolts of musketry ; the guns vomited grape at point-blank distance. It has been asserted that the whole force that had charged in the morning was annihilated as it strove to gallop by. They were reckoned at 5,000 chosen horsemen, and had been led by their Prince in person. The action was over by 9 A.M. In another hour the camp was stormed ; by 3 P.M. the town was taken and occupied.

The Middle Ages were over ; the estimate of Bernier was fulfilled, that sagacious observer who had said that a division under Turenne would scatter the whole of Alamgir's mighty hosts.

Left to its fate, Táragarh surrendered ; on the 18th November Bijai Singh made peace. Shortly after, Ismail Beg made a fresh attempt to rebel, but the fort of Kanaund, into which he threw himself, was taken by one of de Boigne's officers—Colonel Péron—and the luckless Mughol leader was sent into captivity at the fort of Agra, where he passed the remainder of his days.

Sindhia, the Patel, who had barely escaped with his life from the Afgháns in the general rout of the Hindu cause at Pánipat, less than forty years before, was now master of Hindustán. Since this success had been apparently gained by de Boigne and his European officers, it may be interesting to consider the opinion, of a great authority on the other side. "Sindhia's power had become formidable," so wrote Arthur Wel-

lesley not very long after the time, "by the exertions of European officers in his service; but I think it is much to be doubted whether his power—or rather that of the whole Mahratta nation—would not have been more formidable if they had never had a European or an infantry soldier in their service."* Malhar Rao Holkar had maintained the same apparent paradox in 1761; and from such authorities it were rash to appeal. It is, however, obvious that, however suitable to the Mahratta character might have been their old predatory way of light-horse warfare, yet when one State had once adopted the new system other States must follow suit or give up the game. And the State which followed the system with the most energy and skill must eventually prevail.

Two more enemies still remained to be disposed of; one was Partáb Singh, Rája of Jaipur, the other was Jeswant Rao Holkar, each of whom now resolved to encounter Sindhia with his own weapons, though each failed, for want of resources, to match those of the adversary who had determined that the thing, if done at all, should not be done by halves.

Partáb was isolated by the submission of his brother chieftain, Bijai Singh; and ere long he submitted in his turn, consenting to pay a yearly tribute to the Empire as represented by the Patel.

Holkar's resistance was, for the time, more formidable. Availing himself of the services of a French officer whom we have seen ten years before, in the brigade of Médoc,* Holkar imitated Sindhia's proceedings on a considerable scale. His general was the Chevalier du Dernec, a Breton gentleman who had been in the

* *Selections from Despatches*, by Sidney Owen, p. 336.

Royal Navy of France, and had for some time been serving obscurely in the various native services. In 1791 Tukaji Holkar commissioned him to organize four battalions of infantry ; but before these had acquired full coherence they were attacked by de Boigne at a place between Kanaund and Ajmere, called Lakhairi, in the month of September 1792. The ground had been skilfully chosen by du Dernec : he held the crest of a pass, his rear being partially protected by a wood, while his front was covered by a morass. His regulars were supported by a strong artillery, and the whole guarded by 30,000 Mahratta horse, commanded by Holkar in person.

De Boigne ascended a rising ground from which he was enabled to study the situation ; he then advanced under a heavy fire from the enemy's batteries. On his side there was a delay in firing, for in his rapid march he had left his guns behind. As they came up, ten or a dozen tumbrils were exploded by the enemy's shot. Confusion spread around ; which Holkar observed, and charged with all his horse, while du Dernec attempted to engage with his raw regulars. But de Boigne drew back his men behind the cover of a wood, where the cavalry could not follow, and from which he kept the enemy at bay by constant volleys of musketry. Holkar's men were presently broken ; and, as soon as they began to retreat, de Boigne fell upon them with nine thousand fixed bayonets, supported by a charge of his small but efficient cavalry, which had been kept in reserve. Du Dernec's men alone stood their ground ; and it was not till nearly all their European officers were slain that they retired, leaving thirty-eight guns in the conqueror's hands. The shattered fragments of Holkar's army crossed the Chambal, harried Málwa, and sacked the

city of Ujain. De Boigne pronounced the battle of Lakhairi the most obstinate that he had ever witnessed.

While these contests were waging, the aged Emperor was undergoing a fresh humiliation. In his fallen condition, with a numerous group of dependents and an unpunctual stipend (nine *lakhs* a year), he turned his thoughts towards the prosperity of the provinces in the Lower Duáb that were now held by the British. In July 1792 the Court newsman announced that Sindhia had been instructed to collect tribute from the administration of Bengal. In a State paper dated 2nd August Lord Cornwallis replied by stating that, in the present position of affairs, Sindhia would be held answerable for every writing issued in the Emperor's name; and that any attempt to demand tribute would be warmly resented. Once more the disinclination of the British authorities to interfere was asserted, but it was added that they were both able and willing to exact ample satisfaction for any insult. Sindhia had not forgotten Popham—indeed, he seldom forgot anything—and hastened to apologise and acknowledge fully the independence of these high-handed remonstrants. So far had they got in less than eighty years; the humility of the mission to the Court of Farokh Siyar will be called to mind.

De Boigne completed the pacification of Rájpután, and proceeded to his head-quarters at Aligarh. His house and grounds are still to be seen there, half-way between the city and the fort.

Indian administration was not then understood and organized as has since become the case. The long effete Mughol system had broken down. The fields were overgrown and turned to forest; the towns were in ruins; the peasantry, reduced in numbers and inured

to violence, withheld the public dues, and eked out a scanty livelihood by robbing caravans and lifting their neighbours' cattle. In the heart of this unhappy country de Boigne and Begam Samru attempted the first restoration of order. The wide tracts assigned to the former for the support of his large force contained thirty-two *parganas* (fiscal unions) and were estimated to yield about a quarter of a million of modern money. The Sardhana domain of Begam Samru was much less in size and value; the system in both was much the same.*

De Boigne had a large staff of European military officers, among whom may be named Perron, Bourquin, Sutherland, Pohlmann, Dugeon, Trimont, and Sangster—the last-named being a Scot who had been in the service of the Rána of Gohad, and was superintendent of de Boigne's gun-foundry. In civil matters there were two departments; the Persian, presided over by native accountants, and the French, under the General himself. The public dues were fixed by a rough settlement of the landed estates, and the collections were made with punctuality, due to the presence of a strong military force which was used on occasions of recalcitrance. De Boigne rose with the sun—so wrote an English witness—surveyed his stores and factories, inspected his troops, transacted the business of his division, administered justice, gave audience, transacted civil and revenue business, carried on diplomatic correspondence, superintended his private trading operations, and directed the whole vast machinery without any European assistance.

Begam Samru was equally attentive to her com-

* See concluding chapter for some details.

paratively minor cares. We shall have a glimpse of the Begam at Sardhana ere long.

Another Christian leader just coming into prominence was George Thomas, an Irish seaman who had commanded the Begam's contingent at the siege of Gokalgarh. He appears to have left her service on the promotion of a Frenchman to the command; and in 1792 he took up his quarters at Anupshahr, with a few followers, with whom he soon after entered the service of Appu Khândi, a general who had been dismissed from Sindhia's army. By this leader Thomas was appointed to the charge of a portion of the Alwar country, where he had some trouble with the Mewâti inhabitants, and effected a lodgment in Jhajjar and Tijâra, with a loose hold on some of the neighbouring districts. Soon after—as we shall presently see—he fell into trouble by declining the offer of a command in the service of Sindhia. A few details will be given hereafter.

That astute and successful politician died suddenly in the Deccan, on the 12th February 1794. For an interesting analysis of his character the reader may refer to the fifth chapter of Grant Duff's third volume. He appears to have been remarkable for the equability of his temper, and for showing favour to merit only, without discrimination of creed or colour. His successor was as worthless and incapable as is usual with the successors of great men in the East, and not there alone. De Boigne for an instant became the arbiter of Hindustân. A Mughol intrigue was set on foot with the object of shaking off Mahratta domination; and de Boigne was offered the patent of *Amir-ul-Umra*. At the same time Zamân Shâh—grandson of the Abdâli—approached the General in a similar spirit. But the wary soldier rejected all these overtures, and continued

unwavering in his allegiance to the house of his deceased patron.

NOTE.—Among the authorities for this chapter are Grant Duff; Tod; Baillie Fraser's *Skinner*; Major L. F. Smith, and the *Memoirs of General Count de Boigne*. An interesting poem, preserved by Colonel Francklin, shows the dignity with which Sháh 'Alam could endure suffering, and touch his harp, like David of old, in trustful submission to a Higher Power. The following extracts must suffice us here :—

The wealth of this world was[^] my sickness, but now the Lord hath healed me.

I have received the reward of mine iniquities, but now He hath forgiven me my sins.

I gave milk to a young adder, and he became the cause of my undoing.

* * * * *

And now that this Afghán has destroyed the dignity of my kingdom, I have none but Thee, O Most Holy! to have compassion upon me.

Yet peradventure 'Taimur Sháh my kinsman may come to my aid; and Mahdaji Sindhia, who is even as a son unto me, he surely will avenge my cause.

Asaf-ud-daula and the chief of the English, they also may come to my relief.

* * * * *

O Aftáb!* verily thou hast been overthrown by Fate; yet shall God bless thee and renew thy brightness.

* The Sun; this was the Sháh's pen-name.

CHAPTER IX.

GEORGE THOMAS : BEGAM SAMRU : GENERAL PERRON, ETC.
A.D. 1794-1802.

WE have seen how the Irish adventurer, George Thomas—who had deserted from a man-of-war in the Madras Roads in 1782—had risen, first in the service of Begam Samru, and subsequently as a soldier of fortune on his own account. By the time that we have now reached he had obtained a commission from the Mahratta chief, Appu Khándi Rao, to raise a small force, for whose maintenance he was to have possession of three *parganas* in the neighbourhood of Alwar. The country belonged, in a certain sense, to the Imperial Government by whose forces it had been overrun. In another sense it may be said to have belonged to the Rájput chief of Machari, on whom that Government had conferred it. Finally, it was actually occupied by the Mewátis, a stubborn tribe who had incurred the resentment of Appu Khándi by resisting his attempted usurpation. Agreeing to submit half-yearly accounts, Thomas proceeded to make an effort for their reduction.

The monsoon of 1794 had set in ; the rains were heavy ; the sandy soil became a serious obstacle to a body of regular troops dragging guns with them. The Mewátis plundered Thomas's camp in the dark wet

nights ; but the new-comer was not one to be trifled with. Regardless alike of the weather and of the obstinacy of the tribesmen—which at one moment reduced him to a following of twelve men—Thomas ultimately extorted from them an agreement to pay up a year's land-revenue, and obtained—as above mentioned—the possession of two important towns in the Mewáti territory. He was proceeding to attack the neighbouring fort of Bahádurgarh when he was suddenly called off by news of a hostile movement on the part of his former mistress, the Begam Samru,* whose brigade was now under the command of a French officer named Levais-soult. Unwilling to hazard his raw levies in the open field against the trained battalions of the Begam, Thomas fell back upon Tijára, a town fifty-five miles south-west of Dehli, where he remained in safety until summoned by his employer, Appu Khándi, who was threatened by a mutiny among his troops. At the same time the expedition of Levaissoult was recalled to Sardhana by untoward occurrences there.

To trace the origin of these disturbances it will be necessary to go back to the general condition of affairs ensuing on the death of the Patel. His successor was a young man whom he had adopted as a son shortly before his death. His name was Daulat Rao. He was only in his fifteenth year ; but by a fortunate conjunction of events he obtained leisure to consolidate his power ; the Deccan Mahrattas being involved in war with Maisur and Haidarábád, while Takuji Holkar became imbecile, both in body and in mind.

Daulat Rao Sindhia retained eight battalions in attendance on his person, commanded by a Neapolitan named Filose. De Boigne was supreme in Hindustán ; and, as we shall presently see, on his departure the

command, civil and military, was (by his advice) transferred to Perron, whom we first noticed when conducting the conquest of Ismail Beg at Kanaund. Sindhia was at Puna, but he maintained a representative at Dehli, in the person of Gopál Rao. It was this man who stirred up the elements of strife in Appu Khándi's army. Appu had, as already stated, been a general in Sindhia's service; but having set up for himself he became an object of hostility to Sindhia and his officers. Under the same impulse, Lakwa Dáda attempted to detach Thomas from Appu's service by the offer of a command in Sindhia's army; but Thomas had the one great virtue of a *condottiere*, unswerving fidelity to the hand that paid him. He therefore repudiated the temptation, and hastened to relieve Appu from his difficulties. He succeeded in withdrawing him from the mutineers, and escorting him in safety to Kanaund.

Appu displayed but little gratitude for this loyal service; and there was some talk of Thomas being dismissed under pressure from Sindhia's officers. But he showed firmness; and to such an attitude Appu showed the usual acquiescence of an Asiatic.

At this period, Thomas—probably by reason of his refusal to enter the regular service—was exposed to the first of those persistent attacks under which he eventually succumbed. The Begam had a force which consisted of a regiment of Mughol cavalry, five battalions of foot, and some forty guns, with some three hundred European followers, some officers, the rest artillerymen. For the support of this force she held lands not only round about Sardhana, but also in the neighbourhood of Gurgaon and in Hariána, on the right bank of the Jumna. With two exceptions—MM. Bernier and Saleur—the Europeans in the service were illiterate ruffians

whom the Begam and her husband, Colonel Levaissoult, excluded from social intercourse. The leading spirit among them was known by the name of Liégeois; and their patron was the son of the deceased Samru by his insane wife, a young man who had the Christian names of Aloysius Balthazar, but who also bore the Muslim title of Nawáb Zafaryáb Khán. He tampered successfully with the disaffected officers of the brigade, with the object of supplanting the Begam in power. The matter coming to the knowledge of Levaissoult he broke up the expedition in Thomas's country and returned to Sardhana. But he was too late. In May 1795 Liégeois repaired to Dehli—where Aloysius was residing—and placed in his hands an agreement by which (with signature or with mark) his comrades had bound themselves, as before the Holy Trinity, to obey him as their leader.

The Begam and Levaissoult knew not what to do. In their despair they opened negotiations with the British Governor of Bengal, Sir John Shore, of which the result was that they received (through Shore's intercession) permission from Sindhia to repair to Anupshahr, and put themselves under the protection of Brigadier McGowan commanding the British frontier force there.

While the necessary correspondence was pending the plans of the conspirators had time to become almost mature. In October 1795 the fugitives set out from Sardhana in the cool dawn of an autumn day, the Begam in her litter, the husband on his charger. They carried with them portable property to the value of two *lakhs* of rupees, and it was agreed between them not to part in life or in death: if duly certified that one was slain, the other would not survive. Scarcely had they advanced three miles upon the road to Meerut

when they saw dust-clouds rising behind, caused by the pursuit of the mutineers. Levaissoult in vain urged the groaning bearers, the pursuers gained upon them and overtook the litter, the Begam stabbed herself, her blood-stained garment was taken to the front, and her gallant husband—who could have galloped off—on the sight of it remembered his promise, put a pistol to his temple, drew the trigger, and with a convulsive bound sprang lifeless from the saddle. But the Begam was not dead. The mutineers carried her back to Sardhana, plundered her of her ornaments, and tied her to a gun in the Old Fort. Aloysius assumed the command, and plunged at once into debauchery of every kind. Confusion reigned, and the troops were without restraint. But Saleur continued faithful to his mistress. He sent off a despatch to Thomas, who was by good luck in the neighbourhood, and at once addressed a letter of stern menace to the ringleaders, which he enforced by promises of reward to those who abstained from further violence. This he quickly followed up by appearing on the scene with his body-guard. The mutineers, without efficient leading and unable to trust one another, offered no resistance. Aloysius was arrested in his revels, plundered, and made prisoner. The Begam was restored by the instrumentality of the gallant Irishman whom she had treated so ill, and from that hour never again gave way to feminine caprice. She sent Aloysius in custody to Agra, where he lived on a small allowance till 1801. Colonel Saleur was appointed to the command of the brigade.

Meanwhile Appu was engaged in a series of frivolous intrigues against his faithful servant, which seem indications of a disordered intellect. But before the end of the year he had been brought to his last shift, had

made abject apologies, and persuaded Thomas to march northward and attack the Sikhs. His operations were successful, and the Sikhs were cured for a time of their desire to invade the Dehli territory. Starting from the Dehra Dun, whence they had expelled the Mahratta garrison, the intruders had reached Saháranpur, where they cut to pieces the local troops. But on Thomas's arrival they retired into the fortified town of Jalálábád. Having received reinforcements Thomas drove them across the Jumna. While thus employed he received the news that Appu, believing himself to be labouring under an incurable disorder, was about to commit suicide by drowning himself in the sacred waters of the Ganges. As soon as he could he repaired to head-quarters; but all was over, the fanatical act had been accomplished, and the property and power of the deceased had been assumed by his nephew, a young Mahratta named Wávan Rao.

About this time we begin to find mention of a renewal of trouble from the side of Afghánistán. A grandson of Ahmad the Abdáli was now the chief of the Afgháns, under the title of Zamán Sháh. So early as 28th May 1795 the *Calcutta Gazette* alludes to anxieties on account of the Sháh's anticipated movements.

In the Deccan the year 1795 was rendered memorable by a great battle between the Nizám and the Mahrattas. It was fought near Kurdla, about sixty miles from Ahmadnagar, and deserves notice as the last occasion on which the old struggles that began under Aurangzeb attained a historical character. On one side was the descendant of Chin Kulich, leading a vast force of the old mediæval kind, backed by no less than 17,000 regular infantry and artillery, under General Raymond and other French officers. On the other, the chiefs of the

Mahratta confederacy—assembled for the last time under the banner of the Peshwa—opposed 10,000 regulars under Perron, 5,000 under Filose, 5,000 under Hessian, 4,500 under du Dernec and Boyd. It is unnecessary to trouble the reader with details; the action has no direct connection with Hindustán, and has been fully related by Colonel Malleison (*Final Struggles of the French in India*). The equipoise of European skill and conduct on either side might have made the result less decisive if the effeminate Nizám had not, in alarm at a discharge of rockets and round-shot from Perron's batteries, taken to flight at the head of his cavalry, sending orders to Raymond to cover his retreat. The Mahrattas gained a great victory, and the Mughol power in the Deccan would have been utterly destroyed but for the intervention of the British, who desired to maintain the balance of power.

In 1796 General de Boigne left India; his health and strength had been for some time failing, and, unwilling as his employer was to part with so faithful and efficient a champion, he was obliged to grant him leave of absence, nominally for a fixed time. De Boigne returned to his native land with a large fortune, which for the next thirty-five years he applied incessantly to the benefit of his neighbours and to the beautifying of the town of Chambéri. He is one of the few exceptions to Juvenal's sad summary of the vanity of human wishes: a year before his end Colonel Tod, visiting Chambéri, found him still vigorous; he was honoured by his own Sovereign, respected by those of other countries, loved by his compatriots, and lamented by a worthy heir. To say more would be an unwarrantable digression; but to say less would be to fail in justice towards one of the best and greatest characters in Indian history.

On the 1st February 1797 his authority was assumed by M. Perron. Like Thomas, the new general had come to India in some humble capacity on board of a man-of-war, and had been introduced into the Mahratta service by Mr. Sangster as a non-commissioned officer. De Boigne gave him a company; and on the absconding of Listeneaux in 1788 Perron succeeded to the command of a battalion. An average man, of mediocre abilities, his great gift was industry, so that, in the language of a literary comrade, "his pleasures arose from the labours of his profession."* In 1792 he rose to the head of a brigade, and was esteemed by General de Boigne as "a man of plain sense, no talent, but a brave soldier."† De Boigne's parting advice was, "never to offend the British, but to discharge his troops sooner than risk a war." The advice fell on unintelligent ears.

Sindhia remaining in the Deccan, the management of affairs in Hindustán devolved on Perron. With the exception of jealousies with his Mahratta colleagues he had no serious difficulties except what arose from the independent character and conduct of George Thomas. For the present the two ex-mariners did not come into collision. For Thomas confined his operations to the westward, where he found in the resistance of the local tribes sufficient work to furnish full employment. It has been mentioned that, after the fall of the Pathán power in Rohilkhand, the military occupants of that country had been deported to the districts of the Najib-ábád clan, of which Zábíta was the leader. After the death of his son Ghulám Kádir the headship of that clan had devolved upon his brother Muin-ud-din, commonly

* Lewis Ferdinand Smith.

† Grant Duff

known as Bhanbu Khán. Since the events of 1788 this chief had been living in exile among the Sikhs ; and the recent disturbances in the neighbourhood of Saháranpur had been traced to his intrigues. Finding the Sikhs inefficient auxiliaries, Bhanbu next had recourse to his Afghán kindred ; and in 1797 Zamán Sháh, the grandson of the famous Ahmad, appeared at Pesháwar with 35,000 Afghán horse. The Sikhs, however, were far from relishing this attempt. As the Afgháns advanced they marched to oppose them. A battle was fought near Amritsir, in which—after a futile cannonade—the Sikhs flung themselves upon Zamán Sháh's lines with reckless bravery. The aggregate losses were estimated at 35,000 men ; and the Afgháns fell back upon Lahore.* At the same time the anarchic condition of the Dűáb began to be reflected in the half-completed conquests of the Viceroy of Audh in Rohilkhand. Asaf-ud-daula, the then Viceroy, died at Lucknow 21st September 1797 ; and it seemed by no means certain that his successor, Vazir Ali, would not join the struggles of his co-religionists in favour of a Musulmán revival.

The elements of such a combination were in readiness. So far back as 1791 Tippu Sultán, the son and successor of Haidar the usurper of Maisur, had sent an embassy to France inviting the King of that country to join in an attack upon the British in India ; and, although at that time the tottering Government of Louis XVI. was unable to pay attention to the subject, it continued from time to time to come before the Ministers of the Republic which succeeded. The Nizám had a large army under French officers. If a Franco-Musalmán confederacy were formed which should embrace the Viceroy of Audh and Perron, there could

* *Calcutta Gazette*, 9th February 1797.

be little doubt but that the British would be attacked on all sides, and probably overwhelmed. In 1798 Buona-parte set sail for Egypt. In the same year the Governor of Mauritius, General Malartic, called for volunteers for an Indian expedition, and sent off a frigate with a hundred men on board, who landed at Mangalore and proceeded to Seringapatam, where they instituted a Jacobin Club under the presidency of "Citizen Tippu." Perron, too, was becoming a formidable representative of French aggression; for he had now under his command 32,000 regular infantry and 10,000 cavalry, besides the control of every native army in Upper India. In this connection should also be mentioned the invasion planned by the Czar Paul in concert with the First Consul in 1800. It was to counteract this that Malcolm went on his first embassy to the Court of Persia.

For the moment Perron and Thomas worked together. For, while the Irishman crossed the Jumna and placed the Sikhs between two fires by attacking them while engaged with the Afgháns, the former entered upon Thomas's labours and pacified the districts about Saháranpur.

This state of things appeared to the British Governor-General sufficiently serious to call for immediate action. The calm courage of Sir John Shore was shown by his repairing to Lucknow, where he held an inquiry into the claims of Vazir Ali. Although that Prince had been recognised by the British and was then actually ruling the country, Sir John deposed him, and substituted Saádat Ali, the brother of Asaf-ud-daula. Vazir Ali was removed to Benares, where he soon afterwards murdered the British Resident and was imprisoned for life. Shore at the same time sent a mission to Persia under Mahdi Ali Khán, of which the result was that the

Persian army invaded Western Afghanistan, and Zamán Sháh had to retire from the Punjab. About this time—15th August 1797—died Takuji Holkar, a chief who might perhaps have joined the Musulmán cause if we may judge from the antecedents of himself and his house. He was succeeded by his illegitimate son, Jeswant Rao, whose single policy for some time was concentrated in hostility to Sindhia. He is chiefly renowned as a leader of cavalry.

In this new position of affairs Perron seemed to have an opening for seriously attacking Thomas, who saw himself reduced to the necessity of taking decisive measures for the maintenance of his power and even his existence. He had now been sixteen years in India, and seemed to have gained but little. For some time he maintained himself by depredations in the territories of the Rája of Jaipur, making his head-quarters at Jhajjar. Tired of this precarious position, and determined not to sell his sword to those whom he regarded as the foes of Britain, he now conceived the bold and original project of establishing himself as independent ruler of an adjacent country lying unclaimed to his hand. Hariána, on the north-west of Jhajjar, was a tract of over 3,000 square miles separating the Cis-Satlaj possessions of the Sikhs from the Great Bikanir desert on one side and from the special Dehli territory on another. A compact district, containing many towns and villages, and permeated by two canals, it had once been rich and fertile; the pasturage was still abundant, and the cattle were famous in all the neighbouring country. The people were hardy, though not free from the lawlessness which often characterises a pastoral race. In the centre of this tract stands a small eminence on which, in the Middle Ages, one of the Pathán Emperors

had built a hunting-lodge ; round the lodge had since grown a citadel and a walled town called Hási. Here Thomas resolved to settle. Repairing the fortifications he attracted an urban population of some six thousand souls. He established a mint, and a gun-foundry ; and made arrangements for the punctual payment of his followers. His ambition combined with prudence to turn away his attention from the troubled waters of Hindustán. “ I wished,” he says, “ to put myself in a capacity . . . of attempting the conquest of the Punjab, and aspired to the honour of planting the British standard on the banks of the Attock.” His first attempts were unpropitious. But he laid resolute siege to a place of strength which resisted him ; and the ultimate fall of Kanheri decided the fate of the rest. By the beginning of 1799 the Sailor Rája had established his authority over the greater part of Hariána.

His French opponent on the other side of the Jumna was by no means idle. But Perron’s immense resources were for some time neutralised by the cabals of the native Mahratta party. In August 1798 he found one of these officers—Tantia Pagnavis—actually holding Dehli itself, and the shadowy Emperor in a spirit of hostility to himself, which obliged him to send a strong force to besiege it. Colonel Pédrón, the officer in command, forebore to insult the fallen Sovereign by a bombardment in which the palace must have suffered. By a combination of blockade and bribery he procured the opening of the gates. But the success was temporary ; ere long the scene changed, the besiegers were again outside, and the siege had to be renewed. Ultimately the town was assaulted and the palace occupied ; Colonel Drugeon, with a trustworthy garrison, was put in charge of the blind old Sháh. Scarcely had this been accom-

plished when another Mahratta chief broke out at Agra. Perron went there in person at the head of six battalions and a siege-train. The town was entered, but the fort held out for two months; Perron's authority was not restored till April 1799. In the meanwhile serious troubles had arisen in the Rájput country and about Gwalior. Lakwa Dáda—a good Brahman officer, whom we formerly saw serving under the Patel—was now Lieutenant-General of the Empire in those parts: and was engaged in an attempt to coerce the old confederation of Jaipur and Jaudpur which was crushed by de Boigne five years before. So formidable did this rebellion appear that Ambaji Ainglia was sent to the Dáda's assistance, taking with him a strong brigade of regulars with field-pieces, under du Dernec. The whole force consisted of 20,000 Mahratta horsemen, six brigades of foot with the due artillery, 10,000 fighting friars, and a number of contingents from minor States. To oppose this attack—which he had brought on himself by refusing to pay tribute—Partáb Singh, the Rája of Jaipur, had collected a force of 50,000 cavalry—chiefly the fighting Rahtors of Jaudpur—as many infantry, and 20,000 irregular spearmen. The armies met at Sanganir, where the Mahrattas attacked before daybreak one morning in March 1799. But the Rájputs were on the alert, and on their right the Rahtor horse, under the command of Siwai Singh, a favourite henchman of the Jaudpur Rája, charged furiously upon du Dernec's brigade. More than ten thousand in number, they advanced in a compact mass, whose trampling (according to an eye-witness) “rose like thunder above the roar of the battle.” Regardless of the discharge of grape from the field-pieces, they quickened from a trot to a gallop, riding over fifteen hundred of their own body laid low by

the enemy's fire. Neither the bristling bayonets of the brigade nor its steady musketry could arrest their progress. Like a storm-wave they poured over the brigade and rode it down, leaving hardly a vestige of life behind. Du Dernec escaped by hiding under a gun-carriage; almost all his European officers lost their lives. But the time had gone for the victories of horse over foot; discipline ultimately prevailed over valour; in all the rest of his line Partáb Singh was hopelessly worsted. He was ultimately put to flight with the loss of 40,000 men; this single action decided the campaign.*

But a new peril instantly arose. Sindhia was embroiled in family disputes; and now the Dáda took up the cause of his old patron's widows, who were being persecuted. He was suddenly dismissed from his post, and immediately raised the standard of revolt. All Central India was in commotion. The Dáda occupied some places of strength between Gwalior and Bundelkhand, where Ambaji proceeded to attack him and the Datia Rája, by whom he had been joined. Lahár, on the Kalpi road, was taken by assault after an obstinate defence. A battle was imminent for the possession of the forts of Saunda and Bijaigarh. Perron did not feel disposed to trust to the unaided resources of Ambaji, who was avaricious and harsh in his treatment of the European officers. He accordingly proceeded to the seat of war in person. Meanwhile, Saunda was stormed, the leader of the stormers—Joseph Harvey Bellasis, formerly an officer of the Bengal Engineers—being shot through the head. In December Perron arrived and assumed command, superseding Ambaji. On the 5th January 1800 an action took place near Bijaigarh, in

* This action is described from Skinner, who was present. (*Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 147 ff.).

which the rebels appear to have been worsted. But they had still a force of cavalry 9,000 strong, with a regular brigade and sixteen guns under Colonel W. H. Tone, brother to the well-known Theobald Wolfe Tone, and a man of character and acquirements. On the 3rd May of the same year Perron stormed the entrenchments. The Datia Rája was killed; Tone was taken prisoner, but allowed to enter the service of Holkar*; Lakwa Dáda escaped to Salaumbra, in Rájpután, and took no further active part in public affairs.

We must now turn to the proceedings of Thomas. He had profited by the distractions of Perron to build up a very respectable power. Besides his former acquisitions—the revenues of which sufficed for the maintenance of his military establishments and workshops—he derived from his newer possessions the net rental of two hundred and fifty townships. His military force consisted of three battalions of foot, with fourteen guns and a small body of Rohilla horse. With this contingent he joined Wávan Rao, Appu's successor, in a new attack on the Jaipur territory. After some initial success they were startled by hearing that the Rája was coming to chastise their presumption with forty thousand Rájput troops. The pusillanimous Mahratta was for an immediate retreat, but Thomas persuaded him to remain, and they encamped before the walled town of Fatehpur, in the western part of the Jaipur country. The ransom they demanded being refused, the town was taken by assault, and Thomas formed a camp resting on the town, and protected in front by *abattis*, constructed by interlacing the thorny boughs of the acacias which were the only vegetable

* In this service he met with a soldier's death in the following year.

produce of the sandy soil. Here he was besieged by the Jaipur army, thirty thousand strong. On the third day after their arrival Thomas encountered them with success at the head of two battalions and a small body of horse, supported by the fire of eight field-pieces. The party of Rájputs which he thus repulsed was seven thousand strong, and had come out to seize the wells, an object of anxiety in such an arid place. Early next morning he followed up his advantage by a sortie of his whole force, always excepting his Mahratta allies, who looked on from a distance, and a party of his own men whom he was constrained to leave in camp as a guard. The enemy opposed him with all their forces; but though he lost three hundred men and a European officer, and was unable to carry off the Rájput guns which he had captured, he entirely succeeded in driving off his disheartened and baffled antagonists, inflicting on them a loss of two thousand men. On his return from this expedition Thomas separated from Wávan Rao, and, in the height of the hot season of 1799, attacked the Rája of Bikanir in the middle of his desert. Having extracted an indemnity from this sovereign of the sand, he next turned on the Cis-Satlaj Sikhs. He seems then to have co-operated, to some extent, in the campaign against Lakwa Dáda; but a cloud hangs over the whole of that affair. Certain it is that by the beginning of 1800 Thomas was back at Hansi once more, setting forth for a seven months' war with the Sikhs, from which he returned—according to his own account—*minus* nearly one-third of the five thousand men with whom he had set out, but with booty amounting to three *lakhs* of rupees, and the position of "Dictator in all the countries . . . south of the Satlaj."

At this period Sindhia was being pressed by British

influence, while Holkar was threatening him with a serious rivalry, and distractions were arising in the Deccan. It is no exaggeration to say that for the moment, the two European Captains, Thomas and Perron, were the central figures in Hindustán, of whom it was not certain which was to predominate. If Thomas could have cemented useful alliances, and if the British authorities could have seen their way a little more clearly, there was no such security in Perron's position as to prevent Thomas from becoming master of Dehli and of the administration.

But Holkar and the Begam proved useless as allies, Lakwa Dáda died, the British hung back. Thomas opened a correspondence with Lord Wellesley through the medium of a Captain E. V. White, in which he offered his assistance in any measure that the Government of Calcutta might propose. If desired, he would advance, occupy the Punjab, and place his army and its conquests at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief. In this, he wrote, "I have nothing in view but the welfare of my country and king. I shall be sorry to see my conquests fall to the Mahrattas, I wish to give them to my king." But the plans of Wellesley were not then matured, and the power of Thomas was imperfectly understood. It was the opinion of a contemporary* in the Mahratta service that Thomas might—with due support—at this period have done anything; for his substitution for Perron would have rallied and rivetted the loyalty of the officers of British birth who were the backbone of Sindhia's army. For the present, however, British influence was excluded from Hindustán, where the French remained paramount.

* Major L. F. Smith.

About this time appeared an indication that a native alliance might be still possible for the enterprising Irishman. Holkar having overrun Málwa, a large force was sent against him under Colonel John Hessing. This was an officer, of Dutch origin, who had been a long while in Sindhia's army, and who is described by its historian as "a good, benevolent man and a brave soldier." At the head of eight battalions he tried conclusions with the Mahratta chief, but to no good purpose. Between Asir and Ujain several indecisive actions ensued: till at length, in June 1801, Hessing was driven to take shelter under the walls of Ujain. Here he was attacked by Holkar, who succeeded in breaking Hessing's formation by a skilful employment of superior artillery, and then poured his cavalry through the gaps. A frightful carnage ensued. Of the European officers on Sindhia's part, seven were cut down in defending their guns, three more were taken prisoners. But the tables were soon turned. Four months later Colonel Sutherland brought Holkar to bay at Indore, and dispersed his army, with the loss of his capital city and ninety-eight guns.

Meantime Thomas had augmented his forces, and was well on his way to Lahore to attempt his favourite scheme of the conquest of the Punjab, when he was recalled by intelligence that Perron had invaded Hariána. About the time of Sutherland's victory at Indore, Thomas and Perron approached near enough to permit of a personal interview. Perron offered terms. Thomas was invited to surrender the lands of Jhajar, to enter the service as general on a fixed monthly salary, and to detach four battalions in aid of Sindhia's army in the field against Holkar. But Thomas declined. He suspected Sindhia of deceit; he objected to serve under Perron; Holkar

and he were in friendly correspondence. He retired to Hānsi, and Perron went back to Aligarh, leaving Major Louis Bourquin to carry on the campaign that had become inevitable.

Thomas sent off to Holkar to beg for aid ; he then devoted himself to making the best defence in his power. On the 25th September he beat a party of the enemy at his fort of Georgegarh ; on the 29th he fought Bourquin, but was unable to drive him off. On the night of the 10th November, seeing no further chance, and finding food and forage failing, he left Georgegarh and rode to Hānsi with two European companions and some faithful troopers. On the 21st he was invested there by the enemy, and after a defence in which he performed prodigies of valour, and in which the losses of the enemy were heavy, he finally surrendered on the first day of the year 1802. He was allowed to repair to the British camp at Anupshahr ; and paid a last visit to the Begam Samru on the way, leaving his wife and children in her charge at Sardhana with a *lakh* of rupees for their maintenance. Of his sons, John died without issue ; descendants of James still reside at Agra. Thomas was sent to Calcutta, but died on his way, leaving a name in the first rank of soldiers of fortune—for courage, if not for conduct.

Perron was now supreme ; his income was reckoned at some 60,000 rupees a month ; but he was his own enemy. His head went ; his character underwent a change for the worse. He assumed semi-royal attitudes, and sent M. des Cartes to Europe to propose an alliance with First-Consul Buonaparte. His airs of grandeur disgusted his native subordinates, alienated the British-born officers of the force, and perplexed Sindhia and his native ministers. That chief underwent a severe defeat

from Holkar in October, and the latter obtained temporary possession of Poona. Then came the month of December and the Treaty of Bassein, by virtue of which Lord Wellesley secured for his Government an absolute ascendancy in the councils of the Mahrattas, and—to use Sindhia's own language—"took Sindhia's turban off his head."

It appears, however, clear, from the *Wellington Despatches* of Mr. S. Owen, that this treaty was not primarily conceived in a spirit of hostility to Sindhia. He was party to the initiatory negotiations; and, by the agency of a minister, to the whole transaction. Nevertheless the instrument tended to substitute the British for Sindhia as Paramount Power; and an Asiatic statesman who should think himself forced by the exigencies of the moment to agree to such a treaty would do so with abundant mental reservation. One of its articles debarred the Mahratta powers from entertaining French officers. Thus, at once alarmed on the score of his position in Hindustán, and supplanted by the British as Protector of the Mahrattas in the Deccan, Sindhia began to intrigue with the hitherto quiescent Mahratta chief, Raghuji, the Bhaunsla of Nagpore. True to his policy of hostility to Sindhia, Holkar held aloof; resolved to remain neutral till his rival should either be overthrown or rendered irresistible. Lord Wellesley, apprised of the sulky and suspicious attitude of Sindhia, demanded explanations through the channel of his political agents. He had already sent Mr. H. Wellesley to Lucknow: where, at the end of 1801, a treaty had been concluded, ceding to the British the eastern districts of Audh, now called Gorakhpur and Basti, and the lower part of the Dűáb, formerly ceded to the Nawáb and now resumed. Having thus prepared a spring-board from

whence to leap upon his foe whenever it might seem desirable, Wellesley addressed a sort of ultimatum to the Court of Directors, in which, by threat of resignation, he virtually obtained *carte blanche*. In his despatch of 24th December 1802 he referred plainly to the opportunity offered by the Treaty of Bassein for an extension of British power in India; and on the 11th of the following February he consented to remain at his post for one year more. *Annus mirabilis* it proved.

NOTE.—Besides Grant Duff, we have been following Baillie Fraser's *Life of Skinner*; Lewis Ferdinand Smith's *Rise, Progress and Termination of the Regular Corps*, Calcutta, 1804; and Francklin's *George Thomas*. Francklin was the officer told off to accompany Thomas down to Calcutta. They travelled by water, and the fallen general amused his leisure by imparting to his companion reminiscences which that officer, unhappily, thought proper to paraphrase in a solemn and almost bombastic style. But the facts can be verified by comparison with the other works, and will be found accurate in the main.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION.

THE suspicion, if not the fear, of the French was strong upon Wellesley; and his Indian policy was part of that far-seeing and resolute vigilance which characterised the British statesmen of those days. In a despatch of the 27th March 1803 he told General Lake, then commanding at Cawnpore, that he was "anxious to accelerate M. Perron's departure. . . . an event which promises much advantage to our power in India." Whether he knew it or not, that event was in course of preparation. Two days before the date of the Governor-General's letter, Perron had presented himself before Sindhia at Ujjain and had been insulted by the Mahratta chief in open Durbar. Perron retired in disgust to Aligarh, and his command was transferred to Ambaji Ainglia. But Daulat Rao plunged all the deeper in his futile combinations against the British power. In May Wellesley proceeded explicitly to forbid the crossing of the Nabarda by Sindhia, and to warn the Bhaunsla of Nagpore—who was also ruler of Berar—against joining in any schemes that Sindhia might be forming. In the early part of June he addressed a strong warning to Sindhia himself through Colonel Collins, the British agent; he gave Collins much discretionary power, but

with instructions to apprise Sindhia that his going to Poona, under any pretext whatever, would involve him in hostilities with the British. Collins was also to require from the Mahratta an explanation in regard to any confederacy he might be projecting with the Bhaunsla or with Holkar. Sindhia replied by equivocation and delay. For a lucid sketch of the Governor-General's policy at this time the reader should refer to his brother Arthur's memorandum in Mr. S. Owen's *Selections*.

About this time Perron was restored to favour, and immediately proceeded to draw up a plan for hostilities against the British. The forces at his disposal were considerable; consisting, primarily, of the army of Hindustán divided into three brigades, each of which was composed of ten battalions, each of 400 bayonets, with 94 non-commissioned officers and a quota of European officers; 200 heavy cavalry and 40 guns with European bombardiers attached to each: to these were now added two new brigades; so that—according to Skinner, who was one of his officers—there was at the outbreak of hostilities an available regular force of some 17,000 infantry and about an equal body of horsemen, besides the artillery (about 120 guns, according to Thorn). There were also irregular horse and foot. The brigadiers were mostly Frenchmen, but among the battalion leaders and the captains and subalterns many were British or half-castes of British blood. The plan proposed was that the Rohillas should occupy Audh, while Ambaji co-operated in the Dűáb; Daulat Rao Sindhia was to work in the Deccan and endeavour to attach the Nizám to his interests; Holkar was to overrun Benares and Bahár, while the Bhaunsla was to invade the British districts in Bengal. But the British were too resolute and

active for these plans to succeed. On the 6th of July Lord Wellesley received from England an intimation that the Peace of Amiens was unlikely to endure, and on the 8th he addressed a private note to Lake, in which he told the Commander-in-Chief that the reduction of Sindhia's power in Hindustán was becoming "an important object in proportion to the probability of a war with France." Ten days later he sent Lake detailed instructions, with a covering letter which concluded with these significant words: "I consider an effort against Sindhia and Berar to be the best possible preparation for the renewal of the war with France." On the 31st of July General Wellesley, the Governor-General's brother and chief political representative, wrote to Colonel Collins, stating that the reasons assigned by the confederates for not withdrawing their troops were illusory, and directing Collins to leave at once; which was tantamount, coupled with the previous warnings, to a declaration of war. At the same time, the district-officer of Moradábád forwarded to the Governor-General a packet containing a translation of a letter from Bhambu Khán, the brother of the late Ghulám Kádir, covering copy of a circular in which Sindhia called upon him and the other chiefs against "that unprincipled race" the English, and begging them to co-operate with General Perron.

The ablest of the confederates, Holkar, hung back to see his rival ruined. Ambaji began conspiring against Perron with his Mahratta colleagues. The Bhaunsla was a mere trifler on whom no dependence could be placed. The following is L. F. Smith's view of the position:—

"Perron's conduct has been strange and unaccountable to the public eye, but it is only so in appearance.

The veil that covers it I shall endeavour to remove. When Perron found that the 2nd and 3rd Brigades had revolted against him, and that the faith of the 4th was doubtful, and that his friend Bourquin had written to the resaldars of the cavalry offering large rewards to take his life or imprison his person, that Ambaji was appointed Soubahdar of Hindustán, Perron was confounded at the dangers that surrounded him."

This was an incoherent machinery to oppose to the British, earnest, resolute, united, ready for a swift advance. Wellesley was in the Deccan with a compact force. In the Lower Dūáb Lake had eight regiments of cavalry, of which three were British; one corps of British infantry and eleven battalions of Sepoys under British officers; and a due complement of field-artillery with 200 British gunners. There was also a brigade at Anupshahr. The Governor-General, on the 20th of August 1803, issued a proclamation warning Perron's officers of the danger they would incur if they were found fighting against the British. At the same time he addressed a conciliatory letter to the aged Emperor Sháh 'Alam.

It was not long before these measures began to bear fruit. Sháh 'Alam could, for the moment, take no action upon Lord Wellesley's letter; but, at least, the knowledge that it had been sent must have weakened Perron's confidence in his position. As to the proclamation to the officers, it told at once. So far back as 1801 the British-born officers had refused, at their mess-table, to respond to Bourquin's toast of "Success to General Perron." And now, eight days after the date of the proclamation, two of them—Captains Stewart and Carnegie—went to the General and stated that they would not serve against the British. Perron was

indignant. Though he had, by insolence and unjust supersessions, done much to alienate and offend his British-born officers, he seems to have been taken by surprise. They had no reason, he thought, to love the fathers who had sent them to take their chance in the world, or the country that had failed to give them employment. Nevertheless, he then and there dismissed Stewart, Carnegie, and seven others. At the same time he sent a Hindu banker to Dehli to provide for the wants of the royal family there, while he despatched a body of 5,000 cavalry, under Colonel Fleury, to lay waste the country between Cawnpore and the upper Dūáb. Part of the Begam's brigade was in the Deccan. Bourquin was with two brigades at Dehli. Du Derneq was ordered up from Poona to reinforce Bourquin. Hessing and Sutherland held Agra. No other dismissals appear to have taken place.

On the 30th August Perron encountered Lake's cavalry near Aligarh. Perron's force consisted of no less than 8,000 horsemen ; but they were dispersed by Lake's "galloper-guns." Skinner—who was one of the dismissed officers—witnessed the skirmish. Seeing Perron riding distractedly without his hat, and accompanied by a small mounted escort, he went to the General's side to ask for reinstatement. "Ah, no!" cried the General, "it is all over. These fellows have behaved badly. Do not ruin yourself; go over to the British—it is all up with us." And he rode off with the final exclamation, "Good-bye, Monsieur Skinner. No trust, no trust!"

Perron had, indeed, little cause for confidence. From Dehli he heard news that Bourquin had robbed his banker of nine *lakhs* of rupees, and was besieging Drugeon in the Palace. Du Derneq had only got as far as

Muttra, and no help was to be expected from him. Skinner and the dismissed officers, acting on the General's advice, presented themselves in Lake's camp, where they were well received. Perron went off to Hâtras, leaving his connection, Colonel Pédron, in command at Aligarh, with orders to hold the fort to the last extremity. Fleury gained a trifling advantage lower down on the Agra and Cawnpore road; but it was too late.

The storm of Aligarh took place on the 4th September; and the details are given in the standard histories. Pédron was superseded, but the native officers and men made a gallant defence, and the slaughter was heavy on both sides. Next day Perron wrote to Lake offering to surrender, on assurance of life and property being spared. The offer was gladly accepted; and Perron, escorted by his body-guard and accompanied by Fleury, rode into the British camp at Sâsni. The rest of the campaign was almost equally rapid and one-sided. Bourquin was put under arrest at Dehli by his own native officers. But on the 11th September they took him out to oppose Lake, with twelve battalions, seventy guns, and some 5,000 horse. The British, just arrived and weary with a long march, attacked, without waiting for their camp to be pitched; the cavalry having manœuvred a little, the infantry rushed upon the guns with sloped muskets, and captured them at the point of the bayonet. Bourquin and his staff, who had drawn up out of the range of fire, were the first to fly from the field, and they retired to Fatehpur with the wreck of the army. In a few days they also came over to the camp of the British. On the 10th October the latter laid siege to Agra; when Hessing, Sutherland, and the rest of the Christians were confined by the

native officers. On the same day the town was captured ; and, in a few days, the natives saw themselves under the necessity of employing the mediation of the Christians to make terms for a complete capitulation. On the 20th of the same month du Dernec surrendered to Colonel Vandeleur, of the 8th Light Dragoons, at Muttra. The Mahratta power was finally broken at Luswári ; and the treaty of Sarji Arjangaum followed, in which Sindhia submitted to his established effacement.

While these things were enacting in Upper India, the Deccan had been the scene of similar exploits. On the 12th August, Arthur Wellesley encountered the united forces of Sindhia and the Bhaunsla at Asai (Assaye). The obstinate nature of the combat is shown by the fact that Wellesley, out of a total of 5,000 officers and men, lost one-third in killed and wounded. The Begam's contingent was commanded by Colonel Saleur, but took no active part.

The French officers were allowed to go to Chandarnagore, and mostly returned ultimately to France. Those of British birth were pensioned by the British Government, and their story has been told by their companion in arms, Major L. F. Smith. General Wellesley complained, after the battle of Asai, that some of them had been heard upon the field ordering the slaughter of his wounded, and he undertook to send up a list of their names after full inquiry. It is due to a brave and unfortunate body of men to add that this was never done, and the information was evidently unfounded. Besides M. Saleur, the only other white officers known to have been at Asai were Pohlmann and Dupont, neither of whom was of British extraction.

No sooner did the Sháh hear of the overthrow of his

custodians than he replied formally to the Governor-General's despatch. On the 16th September—five days after the battle above related—he received Lake in the faded Hall of his ancestral palace, and conferred on him the title of “Khán Daurán,” so often borne by Mughol nobles in days gone by.

No treaty was made between the British and the Sháh; but the future of His Majesty and the family formed the subject of an express stipulation with Sindhia, whose place as *Vakil*, or Vicegerent of the Empire, was assumed by the Governor-General. Money continued to be struck in the Emperor's name; the laws and creeds of the people were respected and maintained; British district-officers took the place of the native Faujdárs; and a methodical administration—tempered by ignorance on one side and resistance on the other—began to be substituted for the long anarchy which had followed the death of Alamgir. All *de facto* rulers who chose to accept the new state of things were recognised; the British authorities distinctly disclaiming any intention to assert “on the part of His Majesty any of the claims which, as Emperor of Hindustán, he might be considered to possess upon the provinces composing the Mughol Empire.” (*Lord Wellesley to Secret Committee, 13th July 1804.*)

Such was the final close of the history of Hindustán under native rule; and the only thing that remains to be done here is to record a few facts bearing on the condition of the people—a subject that has been entirely obliterated in the picture of turmoil and intrigue that we have had before us.

It is not the object of the author to draw any comparison between one system of government and another. But it is plain, from the narrative that we have been

considering, that the weakly-integrated system of the early Hindus had been submerged, rather than actually destroyed, by the military monarchies which swept over them from the end of the eleventh century of the Christian era. And it appears also evident that the character of those monarchies was something essential and ineradicable. With the temporary exceptions of Sher Sháh and Akbar, that character had been marked by two peculiar features, those, namely, of Bedouin nomadism implanted in Islám, and of Tartar nomadism inherent in the Mughól blood. That the land of Islám belonged to its professors was essential to the Korán. That the land subdued by the Tartar sword belonged to the tribes who pastured their cattle on it was no less essential to the politics of the followers of Changez Khán. With this two-fold persuasion, the Muslim conquerors of Hindustán—with the two most honourable exceptions of Sher Sháh and Akbar above-mentioned—were unable to recognise the indigenous population in any more indulgent way than as animals for their service.

Hence, as we have seen, the Hindus are seldom mentioned by their chroniclers—and no other records besides theirs exist—excepting in the contemptuous manner incidental to the view here stated.

Yet the feeble folk who were thus easily subjugated by the Mahrattas were representatives of the dominant races of the world. And all alike—whether Aryans or of mixed race, whether professing Pagan creeds or the purer faith of Islám but Hinduised in their habits—retained the germs of an industrial civilisation which was appropriate and necessary to the conditions of their existence. The climate and soil were favourable to agriculture; the frugality and industry of many of the

tribes formed a considerable outfit for a prosperous career ; what was needed was an organizing hand. It was not even necessary to destroy the institutions and States that existed.

Some dynasties have been swept away since the Conquest ; but these have been destroyed as circumstances arose ; many have been preserved to the present moment ; some have even been created by British influence. But all have been brought under the needful discipline, either destroyed if incorrigible, or, if corrigible, corrected. Leaving out of consideration the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, in Hindustán proper there are still to be found the following feudatory powers :—

Independent States in Bundelkhand, with a population estimated at 1,403,086 ; in Baghelkhand, 1,512,595 ; Gwalior, 3,115,857 ; Nimár and Málwa, 3,189,558 ; Rájputána, 10,102,049 ; Central Provinces, 1,049,710 ; Punjab, 3,861,683 ; N. W. Provinces, 638,720 ; Bengal, 2,221,943 ; or, say, a total of 27,045,201—a population about equal to that of the kingdom of Prussia.

What a task it has been to introduce order into these States, to discourage crime and to foster industry, there and elsewhere, cannot possibly be realised. But some faint conception of the nature of the case may, perhaps, be formed by considering the accounts accessible to us of one or two tracts of the country in immediate proximity to the capital, where some shadow of the Empire, and some attempt at administration, must be supposed to have lingered down to the Conquest.

The first record shall be taken from a description of a portion of the country held by de Boigne and his successor.

“Perron,” says this narrative,* “succeeded in erecting, for the maintenance of his army, a territory over which he reigned in the plenitude of sovereignty. He maintained all the state and dignity of an Oriental despot, contracting alliances with the more potent Rájás, and overawing by his military superiority the petty chiefs. . . . His attention was chiefly directed to the realisation of revenue. Parganas were generally formed . . . the revenue was collected by the troops always concentrated at head-quarters. A brigade was stationed at Sikandrabad for the express purpose of realising collections. In the event of resistance on the part of a landholder who might be in balance, a severe and immediate example was made by the plunder and destruction of his village. . . . The arrangements for the administration of justice were very defective ; there was no fixed form of procedure, and neither Hindu nor Mahōmadan law was regularly administered. The suppression of crime was regarded as of secondary importance. . . . No trial was held ; and the punishment was left to General Perron’s judgment.

“Such was the weakness of the administration that the landholders tyrannised over the people with impunity, levying imposts at their pleasure, and applying the revenues solely to their own use.”

In a still earlier record—so far back as 1808—we find the Collector of Aligarh stating, in a report to his administrative chiefs, that, owing to the sufferings of the past, the land had fallen in great measure into a state of nature. If six years of peace should follow, he anticipated an increase of 32 per cent. in the area of cultivation. The land was held by the representatives of

* *Aligarh Statistics, &c.* Rurki, 1856.

farmers and officials, who had managed to create hereditary titles. But the village republics were there also, carrying on the business of the communes in joint-stock corporations, looking upon the Talukdars as mere recipients of rent, and biding their time. The subsequent limitation of the powers of these usurpers, or—in many cases—their total expropriation, has been the subject of much controversy. A few words may therefore be allowed as to the terms on which they stood in relation to the people, and the necessary conditions under which alone they could enter the Kosmos of British India.

The most powerful, and on the whole the best, of these was the Begam Samru. We have seen how her estate arose. The lands about Sardhana, with some further estates on the right bank of the Jumna, had devolved upon her at Samru's death, as the *jágir* or endowment for the maintenance of the brigade. Leaving out of consideration the trans-Jumna lands, the little principality thus created at Sardhana was estimated to be worth six *lakhs* of rupees annually; at her death—besides enormous legacies of a religious and charitable nature—her heir succeeded to a fortune of nearly £20,000 a year from her accumulations. And these were left after she had punctually paid the brigade and kept open house for more than thirty years. The estates were then resumed by the Government, the brigade being disbanded. An examination of the assets was made, and showed that the land was assessed, on an average, 83 per cent. higher than the surrounding lands under British management. In those days the British professed to take 75 per cent. of the net rental. This one fact is enough to show how little profit could have been left to the tenants of the Begam. The total

assessment for that year was seven *lakhs*, which the British authorities at once reduced to five. At the same time all separate imposts and cesses were remitted. Under the Begam's system the tenantry were constantly migrating into British territory, and the presence of armed soldiers was occasionally necessary in the fields to keep the cultivators at work. To aid them in their operations the Begam was prepared to make advances on the security of the crops; but the loans had to be repaid during the current year, with interest at the rate of 2 per cent. per mensem. As soon as she was dead and the more lenient administration of the British was introduced, the bulk of the emigrants returned to the villages from which they had fled. Since then wages have risen 150 per cent., the population has become free and independent, in one *pargana* alone nine thousand acres have been added to the cultivated area; and the Government demand has fallen to the modest incidence of two rupees nine anas—say four shillings—per acre.

What the character of the management was under less intelligent landholders than the Begam may be partly imagined. Not content with the rack-rents and cesses of the Begam, they were in the habit of making unauthorised collections from people over whom they had no vestige of authority but the strong hand. Everyone had his "Custom-house," where merchandise in transit paid such dues as seemed good to the rural potentate. Besides this source of income the *Talukdars* derived a considerable income from shares in the booty acquired by highwaymen and banditti, of whom the number was constantly maintained by desertions from the army, and was still further augmented at the Conquest by the general disbandment which ensued.

Both these sources of emolument were at once forbidden by General Lake, although he at the same time guaranteed the landholders the full exercise of their legitimate rights. But these "Barons" had ideas of what was legitimate, which by no means coincided with those of the English General. Fighting with one another and plundering travellers were in their eyes as much "rights" as the others; and in the fancied security of their earthen ramparts they determined to maintain them.

So far back as the spring of the year, before the declaration of war with Sindhia, the whole army had been employed in the reduction of some of these robber strongholds in the lower portion of the Dūáb which had been acquired from the Viceroy of Audh during the preceding year. After considerable forbearance the same course had, at last, to be adopted towards certain of the landholders of the conquered provinces. "It is a matter of fact," say the authors* of the *Statistics* already quoted, "that in those days the highways were unoccupied and the travellers walked through by-ways. The facility of escape into the Begam Samru's territories, the protection afforded by the heavy jungles and the numerous forts which then studded the country, and the ready sale for plundered property, combined to foster robbery."

Skinner was accordingly sent with a body of horse—afterwards to become very famous in the pursuit of Holkar—to patrol the roads. Another Mahratta officer, Colonel Gardner, was placed in command of a special police force, and the principal gangs were dispersed. But they were encouraged to unite again by the Taluk-

* Hutchinson and Sherer (*Aligarh Statistics*).

dars ; and it was not till 1817 that, by the reduction of the fort of Hatras, peace and order were restored in the part of country with which we have been here immediately concerned.

These details have been given to show what was the condition of the country in the vicinity of the capital. In districts administered exclusively by the ordinary type of natives, and more directly exposed to incursions from Sikhs and other external marauders, it is fair to assume that greater misery prevailed. The paucity of old trees, and the abundance of wild beasts in the extreme north of the Duáb, have been already mentioned. The extent to which the oppressions of the Patháns had extended may be further gathered from the fact that in the district of Saharanpur there are, even now, no resident gentry, and the estates only average twenty acres apiece. In Etáwa—a district on the borders of Agra—the Collector wrote in 1807 that the people “prefer plunder to peace, and court the exchange of the ploughshare for the sword.” Population had been “materially checked” ; and commerce was “almost annihilated.”

Of the moral character of the rack-rented and down-trodden inhabitants of India, in those dark days, we have the testimony of General Wellesley, a man with great opportunities, and not given to rhetorical exaggeration :—

“They are the most deceitful, mischievous race of people that I have ever seen or read of. I have not yet met with a Hindu who had one good quality, and honest Musalmans do not exist.”—*Wellington's Supplementary Despatches*, 1797 to 1805.

When we look round on the India of to-day, we can hardly believe that it is occupied by the grand-

children of the people thus characterised. In British India the people are as numerous, per square mile, as in Belgium, and, at least, as easily ruled; roads, railways, and canals reticulate the map; four universities and nearly one hundred thousand public schools provide all grades of instruction; a large revenue is punctually raised, with probably the smallest rate of incidence in the world; Hindustán, in one word, has passed from anarchy to the reign of law.

I N D E X

A.

- Abdullah (Sáyýid), defeated, 311.
- Abdurrahim Khán, Mirza, his rise, 125; appointed Khánkhánán, 126; conquers Jáni Beg, 130; Khánkhánán, his death, 182.
- Abu Hanifa, his school of law, 49.
- Abul Fazl, presented to Akbar, 110; influence begins, 114; his liberalism, 116; his antidote to Badáoni, 133; made a mansubdar, 140; sent on delicate duty, 144; his literary work finished, 144; murder of, 151-2; character of, 153.
- Adham Khán, probably bastard son of Humaiun by Máham Anka, 98; conquers Bázhahádur, 98; kills the Emperor's foster-father, and is himself slain, 96.
- Afgháns invade India under Zamán Sháh, 435.
- Agra, Jama Musjid of, 216; occupied by Aurungzeb's son, 209; occupied by Játs, 369;
- Agra—*cont.*
held by Sindhia, 409; taken by Lake, 454.
- Ahmad Abdáli, his rise, 327; invades the Panjab, 328.
- Ahmadnagar capitulates, 141.
- Ahmad Sháh, accession of, 380; futile struggles of, 336; deposed by Ghazi-ud-din, 337.
- Ain-Akbari*, analysis of, 259-66.
- Ajit Singh, Raja of Marwar, his death, 312.
- Ajmir, Rána's fortifications destroyed, 202.
- Akbar, his birth, 88-90; proclaimed Emperor, 88; majority, 92; disapproves of Adham Khán's proceedings, 93; three periods of his reign, 94; represses race-
pride in the immigrants, 95; collision with his half-brother, 96; marries daughter of Amber, 97; attempt on his life at Dehli, 99; begins to employ professional politicians, 101; suppresses Uzbek combination, 101; attacks Chitor, 101; shoots Jai Mal, defender of Jaipur, 102; his Academy, 107; visited for first

Akbar—cont.

time by Christians, 107; assumes position of religious reformer, 108; begins to reform land tenures and administration, 109; his consolidative work, 111-12; eclectic spirit of, 114-15; his Thursday meetings, 115; visits his father's tomb, 118; makes long stay at Fatehpur, and assumes ecclesiastical supremacy, 119-20; his disciples, 121-2; practical character of his system, 122; goes to Kábul to punish his rebellious brother, 124; goes to Ráwal Pindi to settle Kábul affairs, 128; in Kashmir, 131; his reforms, why unsuccessful, 138-9; at Agra and Lahore, 140; deteriorates, 156-7; health fails, 157; death of, 159; sketch of final reforms in land, 160-61; revenue system, state of country under, 162.

Álamgir, Aurungzeb ascends by title of, 219.

Álamgir II., accession of, 338; assassinated, 346.

Alá-ud-din I., his feeble reign, 29.

Alá-ud-din (Khilji, or II.), murders his uncle, Jalál-ud-din, and becomes Sultán, 36; his singular but not unsuccessful reign, 37-40; promotes Málik Káfur, and dies, 41.

Aligarh, taken by Lake, 453.

Ali Gauhar, Mirza, escapes from Delhi, 343.

Ali Kuli, rebels against Akbar at Jaunpur, 99; is defeated and slain, 100.

Ali Mardán Khán deserts to Shahjahán, 197; made Viceroy of the Panjáb, 198; his public works, 198.

Allámi Sád Ullah, Prime Minister, 200; sent to supersede Prince Murád in North, 200; his death, 203.

Altimsh, reign of, 27-8.

Anarchy, universal, 400.

Appu Khandi, crazy behaviour to Thomas, 432; his suicide, 432.

Arithmetic and astronomy among the Aryans, 19.

Arts in Ancient Hindustan, 18.

Aryan, colonization, 2; society, its early constitution, 3; civilization, how affected by fusion, 20.

Asaf Khán, dies, 199; his great riches, 199.

Asir (Asirgarh), 147; fall of, 148.

Asoka, his edicts and their evidence, 2.

Aurangzeb (Prince), his desire for private life, 200; and Ali Mardán, disastrous retreat, 200; sent to Kandahár, 200; employed in Deccan, 204; gives signs of hostility, 205; encourages pretensions of Murád, 205; joins forces with Murád, and overthrows Imperialists under Jeswant Sing, 206; turns on his brother Murád, 209; his hypocritical letter, 209; ascends by title of Álamgir, 219; his character, 222; harsh measures of, 224-6; a Rájput remonstrates with, 227; his family, 229; his son Akbar rebels, 230; in trouble, 233; his holy war (1698), 235; his last days, 237; his revenues, 239; condition of people under, 240; some reasons of his misfortunes, 241; mansabdars under, 243; administration of law and justice, 246-7.

B.

- Bábar, his early history, 56-8; invades India, 59-60; in Agra, 62; campaign against Rájputs, 64; at Lucknow, Agra, and Gwalior, 69; negotiates with Bengal, 69; dies at Agra, 70; autobiography described, 71; unfavourable opinion of Hindustan, 71; weaknesses of his administration, 72.
- Badaoni, Abdul Káder, his bitterness, 132; his bigoted maxim, 135; sneers at Akbar's toleration, 135.
- Bahádur of Khándes, 146.
- Bahádur Sháh, his preliminary trouble, 268; defeats his brother near Agra, 270-72; accession of, 272; his court, 273; his ministers, 274; his death, 282-3.
- Bahár taken by Baktyár Khilji, 26.
- Bahlol Lodi, reign of, 45-6.
- Bairam Khán, his origin and rise, 87; and Máham Anka, 90; falls from power and rebels, 91; murdered by a private enemy, 92.
- Balban, rise of, 30; his pomp and vigorous administration, 31; his reign, 33-5; character of his son Mahomed, 34; death of, 36.
- Balkh and Badakshán, campaign of, 200.
- Bassein, treaty of; Sindhia, how affected by, 446.
- Battle near Pá nipat, 61.
- Báz Bahádur overthrown by Adham, 98.
- Birbal, Raja, rises to favour, 104; death of, 127.

- Brahmans, origin of, 4.
- British, combination against, 435; their political position (1804), 455.
- British-born officers, in Sindhia's service, 451; provided for, 454.
- Buddhism, its rise and fall in Hindustan, 13.
- Bundelkhund, campaign of 1634-35, 197.
- Buxar, defeat of Shujaá by British at, 363; distribution of power after the battle of, 364.

C.

- Canals of Sháh Jahán, 198.
- Ceremonies at accession of an Emperor, 300.
- Chand Bibi, defends Ahmadnagar, 141; her heroism and death, 148.
- Chandairi, attacked by Bábar, 67; taken and assigned to Afghan chief, 68.
- Chin Kulich Khán, Nizam-ul-Mulk, 306.
- Chitor, described, 101; campaign of Akbar against, 101; vain heroism of the Hindus at, 102.
- Christian, missionaries at Court, 116; church at Agra (1580 A.D.), 121.

D.

- Dára, vainly attacks Kandahár, 201; rewarded for dismantling Ajmir, 203; constitutes himself Regent, 204; encounters his brothers at Samoghar, 207; flies to the Panjáb, 208; his fate, 221.

Daria Khán, a follower of Khán Jahán, killed, 192.

Daúd Khán, Afghan king in Bengal, 106; executes sentence of death on Lodi, 106; overthrown and pardoned by Munáim Khán, 106.

Dáwar Baksh, the Winter King, 187-9.

Debi Pundit teaching in a basket, 117.

De Boigne, his early life, 405; organizes Sindhia's army, 417; marches against Ismail Beg (1790), 417; encounters Rajputs at Mahirta, 419; his administration, 424; retires to Europe, 433.

Deccan, campaign of, (1596), 143; kingdoms rendered feudatory, 197.

Dehli, new palace founded (1639), 198; Court at, 202; New, Sháh Jahán's buildings there, 215; New, Jama Masjid of, 216; defeat of Bourquin at, 453.

Doxology, Akbar's new, 117.

Du Derneq, engaged by Holkar, 421; defeated by De Boigne at Lakhairi, 422; surrenders to Vandeleur, 454.

E.

Empire, description of, 250-55; administrative machinery, 255-6; military matters, 256-7; *temp.* Alamgir II., 339.

English, co-operate with Mughols in naval campaign against Portuguese, 173; their rise in Bengal and mission to Court of Farokh Siyar, 292.

F.

Faizi, Shaikh, introduced to Akbar, 103; his eclectic hymn, 116; sent to Burhán-ul-Mulk, 129; sent into the Deccan, 140; his death, 142.

Famine of 1595, 142; and consequent epidemic, 176; of 1785-6, 406.

Farokh Siyar, accession of, 289; his errors, 295; deposed by Sáyyids, 297-8; his tragic end, 298-9.

Fatehpur Sikri, 103, 107, 110.

Feudatory States, extent and population, 457.

Firoz Toglak, 43, 44.

G.

Ghais, Itmád-ud-Daulah, rise of, 168.

Ghází Malik Toglak, 41, 42.

Ghází-ud-din (son of Nizam), in power at Dehli, 334; goes to Deccan and dies, 334.

Ghází-ud-din, violence of, 341; his flight and end, 347.

Ghulam Kadir, attacks Dehli, 409; renews his measures and blinds the Emperor, 413-15.

Goganda, Battle of, 118.

Golkonda, taken by Aurungzeb's eldest son, 232.

Gwalior, taken by Popham, 393.

Guzrat, second campaign of Akbar in, 105.

H.

Hákim (Mirza), dies at Kabal, 127.

Hemu, the Hindu General, 83-6; temporary success and prestige, 88; defeated and slain, 89.

Hindu, heptarchy, 5; dramas, knowledge of primitive manners derived from, 6; law, early conception, 15; and modern codes, 15; codes and procedure, 16.

Hindus, Arcadian scheme of manners of, 9; literary ideas of early, 11; religion, root ideas of, among, 12; philosophic systems of, 14; their sufferings under early Moslems, 49-50; Akbar's first indulgence to, 98; their view of law, 123; under Alamgir I., their wrongs and reprisals, 225; spread of disaffection among, 277; oppressed by Farokh Siyar, 295.

Hindustán, special meaning of the word, 1; present state of, 468.

Holkar, Jeswant Rao, rivalry with Sindhia, 421; engages Chevalier du Dernec, 421; succeeds Takuji, 437.

Holkar, Takuji, his death, 437.

Hughli, besieged by Shah Jahan's army, 195; fate of Portugese taken captive there, 196.

Humaiun, son and successor of Bábar, 72; vainly attacks Sher Sháh, and has to retire to Agra, 75-6; disgracefully beaten at Kanauj, 77-8; disappears for fifteen years, 78; returns to Hindustan, 83; occupies Dehli, 84; his death from an accident, 84; his character as drawn by a friend, 84-5.

Husain Ali, Sáyyid, assassinated, 310.

I.

Ilduz, defeat and death of, 27.

India, Italy compared with, 22-3.

Islám Sháh, son and successor of Sher Sháh, 82; his death, 83.

Ismail Beg, taken prisoner, his end, 420.

J.

Jahándar, accession of, 287; defeated and slain, 289.

Jahángir, illusory nature of his "Institutes," 164; his character, 165; his first visit to Kashmir, 168; visits Ajmir, 172; a reformed character, 174; his Memoirs, 174-5; visited by Englishmen, 175; in Kashmir, 176-7; intrigue for succession to, 179; a captive, 180; released, 181; in Kashmir for the last time, 182; his death, his administration, 183; Institutes analysed, 184-6; public works of, 186-7.

Jai Singh Siwai, of Jaipur, 276; his death, 326.

Jalál-ud-din Firoz succeeds Kai Kobad, 36.

Jaswant Singh, Raja of Marwar, dies, 226.

Jazia (poll-tax) imposed by Alamgir I., 227.

Játs, their first appearance, 233; account of, 366-7; their progress under Sooraj Mal, 368; Najaf Khán's campaign against, 387-8.

Jodpur, Raja of, attempts to corrupt De Boigne, 419.

K.

- Kabácha**, enlists Mughol hordes, 27; drowned in Indus, 28.
Kai Kobád, son of Balban, his reign and death, 36.
Kámbaksh, Sultán, his rebellion and death, 274-5.
Kanauj, Bábar's operations there, 68.
Kandahar, falls into Akbar's hands, 141; attacked by Persians, 177; surrendered to Sháh Jahán, 197; taken by Persians, 201; repels attacks, 201.
Kashmir, campaign in, 128; visited by Sháh Jahán, 196.
Khán Jahán Lodi, sent to Deccan with Sultán Parwez, 170; flight to the Deccan, 191; last stand and death, 193.
Khusru, (Amir) the poet, 34-6.
Khusru, Malik, temporary revolution under, 41.
Khusru, Sultán, Jahángir's eldest son, 165; rebellion of, 166; defeated and made captive, 167.
Kurdla, battle of, between Mahrattas and Nizám, 433.
Kurram, Sultán, sent to Udaipur, 172; promoted and rewarded, 176; campaign against, 177-8; penitent, 181.
Kutb-ud-din, Aibak, his reign, 25-7.

L.

- Lahore**, Court-life there, 196.
Lake, defeats Perron in cavalry skirmish, 452.

Lakwa Dáda, encountered by Ambaji, 440; death of, 441-3.

Land, how held, 17.

Lodi dynasty at Dehli, 45.

M.

Machiwára, defeat of Afghans by Mughols under Bairam Khán there, 83.

Mahábat Khán, rise of, 164; disgrace and rebellion of, 180; death of, 196.

Mahirta, battle of, (1790), 419-20.

Mahrattas, first appearance of the, 172; become formidable, 223; extort a favourable treaty, 296; threaten Agra (1732), 316; reappear in 1768, 373; allied with Zábita, attack Najaf, 380; expelled from Hindustan (1773), 382.

Malik Ambar conquers Imperialists, 172.

Manrique, a Spanish missionary, 198; favoured by Mughol Government, 199.

Mán Singh, brought forward in Guzárat, 104.

Manu, probable date of, 14.

Manucci, an Italian physician, 201; his observations on the Court of Sháh Jahán, 202.

Megasthenes, evidence derived from, 3.

Mewat, settled by Bábar, 66.

Minor states, rise of, 284.

Mir Jumla, of Golkonda, repairs to Hindustan, 203; his death, 228.

Mrichakati, an early Hindu drama, 7-9.

Mughol embassy to Court of Násir-ud-din, 31.

Mughols, origin of, 46-8; marriage customs of, 97; their social habits, 199; empire compared to that of Rome, 285; reasons of their failure, 456.

Muhamadan invasions in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries of Christian era, 21.

Muhamad Beg, murders Mírza Shafí, 402; killed at battle of Lálsant, 408.

Muhamad Sháh, accession of, 304; early administration of, 305; seven years of reign, 314-15; death of, 329.

Munaim Khán, first Khán-khánán of Akbar, his campaign in Bengal, 106; his inglorious end, 107.

Murád confined by Aurungzeb, 209.

Muslim Empire, revenue of early, 51-2.

Muttra, massacre at, by Afghans, 342.

N.

Nádir Sháh, rise of, 319; invades Hindustan, 320; resisted near Karnál, 321; Saádat Khán suspected of connivance with, 321; Nizám obliged to submit to, 322; occupies Dehli; massacre of citizens, 323-4; returns northward; his death, 325.

Najaf Khán, Sháh Alam's minister, 377; restored to power, 382; administration of, 390; retires to Agra, 392; expels the Sikhs, 395; dies, 396; intrigues on his death, 397-8.

Najib Khán, rise of, 388.

Najib-ud-daulah, his administration, 372; his death, 374.

Nar Singh, death of, 191.

Násir-ud-din, succeeds Ala-ud-din I., 29; disappears, and Balban becomes Sultán in his stead, 32.

Nizám, his administration of Deccan, 313; capitulates at Bhopál, 318; at Dehli, 325; dies at Burhánpur; character, 331.

Noer, Graf Von, his history of Akbar, 92n.

Nur Jahán, her origin and early life, 168; becomes Empress, 169; death of, 189.

O.

Orissa, Pathan revolt in, 130.

P.

Pánipat, battle between Afghans and Mahrattas at, 347-55.

Parwez, Sultán, son of Jahángir, 170; dies, 181.

Pátan, Ismail defeated by De Boigne at, 418.

Perron, succeeds De Boigne in Hindustan, 434; at war with Rájputs, 439; joins Ambaji in campaign against Lakwa Dádá in Bundelkhund, 441; intoxicated by success, 445; loses influence with Sindia, 448; his projects in early part of the year (1803), 449; strength of his forces, 449; surrenders to Lake, 453; account of his administration, 458.

Persia, religious movement after Osmánli successes (1575 A.D.), 112.

Persian heretics drawn to Akbar's Court, 113.
 Portuguese attacked by Mughols, 195.
 Property, classification of, 17.
 Puranic religion, 13.

R.

Rájputs, set up Akbar, Aurungzeb's son, in rebellion against his father, 230; the three points of their Charter, 280.
 Rauthambor, taken by Akbar, 103.
 Razia, female sovereign of Hindustan, 29.
 Rohelas, treaty of, with Shujáa, 379.
 Rohelkhand, becomes independent, 327; over-run by Mahrattas, 343.
 Rukn-ud-din, Firoz, succeeds Altimsh, 28.
 Ruqia, Akbar's chief consort, 97.
 Rupmati, the Lucretia of Rájputana, 93.

S.

Saádat Khán, Viceroy of Audh, 312; moves against Mahrattas, 317.
 Saádar Jang, Viceroy of Audh, 330; defeats Rohelas, 332; his struggle with Ghazi-ud-din, 335; has to retire to Audh, 336; death of, 340.
 Salim, Mirza, disobedient to his father, 143; pardoned by

Salim, Mirza—*cont.*

Akbar, 150; acknowledged as heir, 154; loses his wife, 155; in arrest at Agra, 156; succeeds by title of Jahángir, 163.
 Sámmbha, Sívaji's successor, his death, 233.
 Sambat era, its doubtful origin, 5.
 Samoghar, defeat of Dára there, 207.
 Samru (Walter Reinhardt), enters Mughol service, 371; dies, his Begam succeeds, 395.
 Samru, Begam, attacks Thomas, 429; married to M. Levais-soult, 430; Liegois conspires against, 430; attempts to leave Sirdhana, 430-1; restored to power by aid of Thomas, 431.
 Sanganiir, bloody battle at, (1799), 440.
 Sanka, Rana, description of, 63; overthrown and put to flight by Bábar, 65.
 Sardhana, under Begam Samru, 459.
 Satnámis, a sect, *temp.* Alamgir I., 225.
 Sáyyid, Hasan Ali, forms a confederacy and marches on Dehli, 296.
 Sáyyids, attack Jahándar, 283; their power under Farokh Siyar, 291; opposed by Nízam, 307-9.
 Sháh Alam (Ali Gauhar), struggles in Bengal, 358-61; Court at Allahabad, 365-6; returns to Dehli, 375-6; his poem, 426.
 Sháh Jahán, accession, 190; seriously ill (1657), 204; besieged by his sons, 208; deposed, 209; state of country under, 212; high

Shah Jahán—cont.

character of his administration, 212; public works, 213; his treatment of Hindus and Christians, 217.
Sháhjahánábád v. Dehli (New), 215.

Shahryár, the Fainéant, 187.
Sharf-ud-din, conspires against Akbar, 98.

Sháyista Khán, Sháh Jahán's violence to, 206.

Sher, Khán (afterwards Sháh), his rise, 72; amuses Humaiun with insincere negotiations, 74; loses Chunár, 75; occupies Rohtás and Gaur, 75; Sháh, ascends the throne of Dehli, 79; character and administration, 80-1; his fatal injury and last regrets, 82.

Shujaá, Sultán, his end, 223.

Shujaá-ud-daula, expels Maharrattas from Rohelkhand, 345; his character, 357; death of, 386.

Sikhs, rise of, 278; raise a "Jacquerie" in the Panjab, 279; temporarily conquered, 281; conquered a second time, death of their Guru, Banda, 293.

Sindhia, Máhdají, chastised by Hastings, 392; master in Hindustan, 406; resumes grants and attacks Rájputs, 408; Rájputs submit to, 421; rebuked by Lord Cornwallis, 423; death of, 425.

Sindhia, Daulat Rao, 428; attacked by Lakwa Dádá, 440.

Sivájí, his origin, 223; taken to Dehli, his escape, 224; dies, succeeded by his son Sámgha, 228.

Skinner and Gardner, 461.

Society, imperfect organization of Hindu, 18.

Suraj Mal, death of, 370-71.

T.

Taimur, invasion of Hindustan by, 44.

Táj Mahal, death of the Empress, who was buried there, 194; described, 213-14.

Tálukdárs of Hindustan, 459.

Thomas, George, rise of, 425; employed by Appa K' Rao, 427; campaign in wát, 428; attacked by Samru, 429; his counsel revolution in Sardhana, 4; assumes sovereignty in Hana, 437; projects of, 4; his energetic proceedings, 441-3; his offers to British, 443; attacks Perron, 444; surrenders Bourquin, 445.

Todar Mal, Raja, cc against Ali Kuli in his origin, 100; ce fiscal reforms of, death, 129; his e tive reforms, 133.

Tuglak II. (Juna),

Udaipur, rev. 117; red. 173; Rán. 173; Rá. 177.

Urdu lar, 49-51.

Vazir Ali, deposes

Y.

W.

Wellesley, Arthur, opinion of employment of Europeans by Mahrattas, 421; declares war, 450; wins battle of Asai, 454; his bad opinion of natives of India, 462.

Wellesley, Marquess, withdraws from Canton, 447; his suspicion of French in India, 448.

Yusafzai country, operations in, 129.

Z.

Zábita Khán, son of Najib-ud-daula, 377.

Zain Khán, sent to Bengal, 125; defeated in Swat, 127.

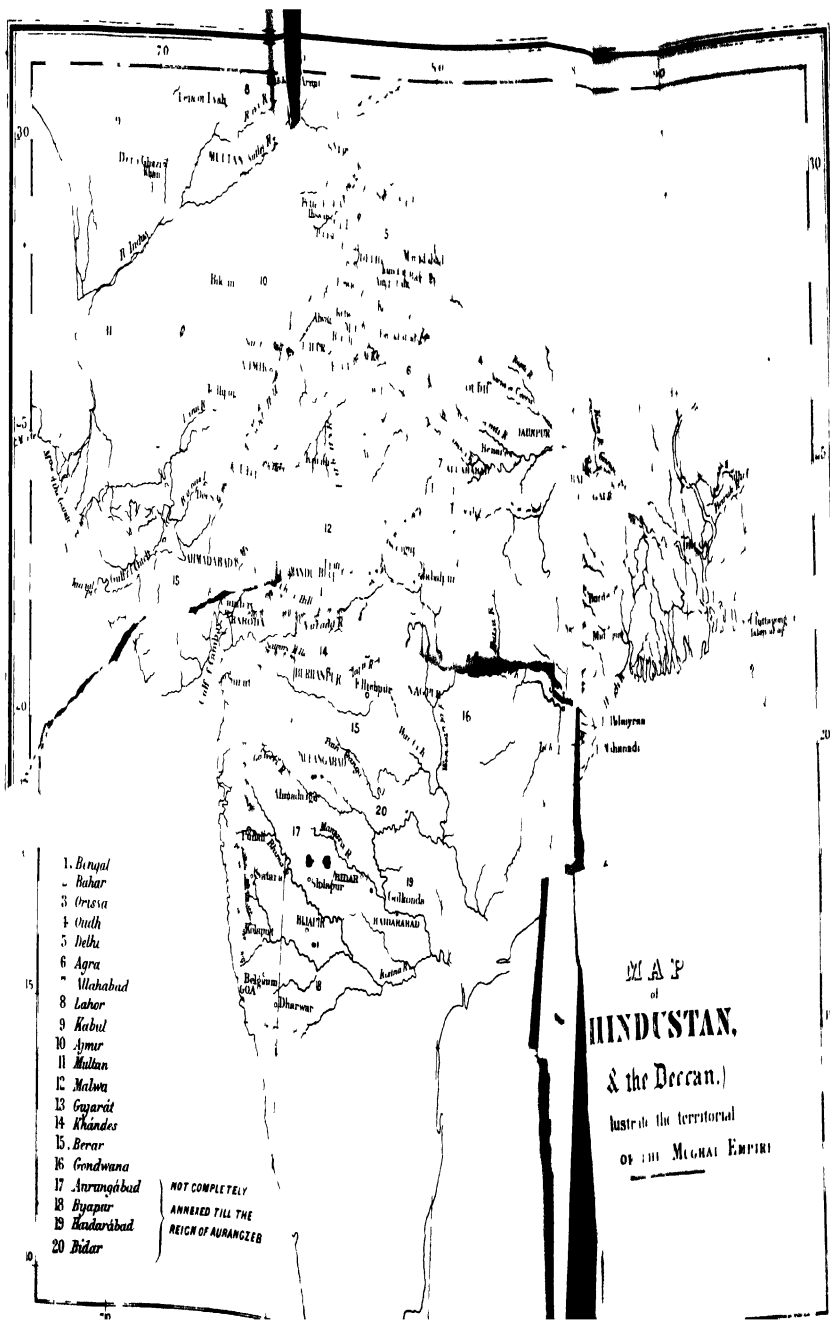
Zulfikár Khán, his origin and rise, 234; murdered, 289.

The following is Manucci's account of the provinces at the beginning of the reign of Aurungzeb—the numbering being brought into correspondence with that of the annexed map :—

1.—BENGAL, without Orissa, was assessed at over four <i>krors</i> (which is three times more than in the other lists).	
2.—BAHAR	Rs. 1,21,50,000
3.—ORISSA (called by Manucci "Urcha")	57,07,500
4.—ODDH (called "Rajmahal" apparently)	1,00,50,000
5.—DEHLI	1,25,50,000
6.—AGRA	2,22,03,550
7.—ALLAHABAD	77,38,000
8.—LAHORE	2,32,05,000
9.—KABUL	32,07,250
—AJMER (Rájputána, temporarily subjugated and heavily assessed)	19,00,000
—ULTÁN	50,25,000
—WA	99,06,250
— (probably including Customs)	2,32,95,000
—	1,11,05,000
—	1,58,07,500
—ANA (no assessment given in any list but of Aurungzeb's reign). NGABAD, or a part thereof (called Baglana," from Bághelána, a hilly tract in the heart of the Mahratta country). Tallies with estimates of Tavernier and Bernier	68,85,000
—Aurungábád or Daulatábád (rated much higher in native lists). —	5,00,00,000
—	5,00,00,000
— (not named by Manucci, but probably included in "Golconda") — "Nanda," aggregate in running from 93 lakhs <i>krors</i>	72,00,000
Total	Rs. 31,79,35,050

There are discrepancies, both as to names in Manucci's list and those derived from native sources of the 17th century after the completion of Abul Fazl's conquests, according to a European report in a position of trust. He does not say as they are named in other lists that he gives some names (such as "Bakar" not found elsewhere).

W. He chief substantial acquisitions of Aurungzeb.



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